

Smithsonian Institution

VOL. LXXV, No. 3. }
WHOLE No. 401. }

MAY—JUNE, 1893.

{ FIFTH SERIES,
VOL. IX, No. 3.

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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NEW YORK:
HUNT & EATON.

CINCINNATI:
CRANSTON & CURTS.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, POSTAGE INCLUDED, \$2.50.

[Entered at the Post Office, New York, N. Y., as second-class mail matter.]

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METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1893.

ART. I.—CHARLES THE GREAT—HIS RELATION TO THE CHURCH.

THE reign of the Emperor Charles the Great was of such influence upon the interests of the Church that, while it began simultaneously with the commencement of the mediæval period, it did not terminate with the latter, but has reached into modern history and affected the relations of Church and State in Europe down to the present century. He is one of the permanent characters in history. When, in the year 1165, the mortuary chapel in the great cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, the city of his love and death, was opened for the second time in three hundred and fifty-one years, the body of the great ruler whom Paschal III had canonized was found sitting erect as a living monarch, clad in his imperial robes, with scepter in hand, the sword "Joyeuse" at his side, and the Frankish crown upon his fleshless brow. And the German conception of the founder and organizer of Teutonic greatness has ever been in harmony with this circumstance—not as of the dead, but of the living, *Karl der Grosse*, Charles the Great.

On the death of his father Pepin, in the year 768, he ascended the throne as inheritor of Austrasia, Neustria, and other portions of the eastern part of the Frankish empire, while his brother Carloman ruled over France and a large part of Germany, which constituted the western part of the empire. Carloman dying in 771, Charles took possession of the whole without regard to the rights of his deceased brother's family. From the moment of his assumption of supreme control he

established a policy from which he never departed, and to which he made all his prerogatives and measures subservient. This was the combination of the theocratical idea with the monarchical. While he regarded himself as the civil ruler his notion of his imperial functions extended to the sphere of religion and theology, and he felt that so far as these related to his government he was of right their supervisor and disposer. Taking the kings of Israel and Judah, and not the Roman rulers, as his prototypes, he imagined that he was rather a David, a Hezekiah, or a Josiah than a Cæsar Augustus or even a Constantine.

But his attitude toward the Church and its spiritual head was friendly, nay, even fraternal. Never has a monarch, with, perhaps, the exception of Queen Elizabeth of England, been at once more decided in personal convictions and yet more wise in concessions in the proper quarters and in the supreme moment. Toward the pope he acted with such unfailing respect and consideration that it seemed as if he were claiming nothing for himself, and yet all the while he was receiving from the pope such boons as strengthened his hold at once upon his subjects and the Church. Never have two opposing players solved with greater adroitness the problem of ever winning the same game than did Charles the Great and Leo III. Each gave what he could dispense with, while each received what was necessary to his personal interests. Charles's motto, "The Church teaches, but the emperor defends and increases," was as much the pope's as his own, while no papal ear before the time of Hildebrand could be offended by the Frankish ruler's candid statement to Leo III of their relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers, and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, holy father, to raise your hands to God as Moses did and to support my military service by your prayers."

This intimate relation between Charles the Great and the papacy was not altogether a novelty, but was an intensification of what had already obtained between the Frankish imperial house and the immediate predecessors of Leo III. A common interest had drawn these together even before the birth of Charles,

though, later, this alliance assumed a much wider scope and more attractive forms. Pope Zachary, by causing Pepin le Bref to be anointed as King of the Franks—whether by Boniface or not is not known—placed the Carolingian dynasty, of which Pepin was the founder, under perpetual obligation to the papacy. And it was an obligation which was promptly acknowledged and, with excellent memory, carried into practical effect. The Greek emperors were holding their possessions in Italy against the Lombards with a loose hand, and the popes, unable to secure from abroad proper protection against the devastations of the Lombards, implored the help of the Frankish rulers. Gregory III besought Charles Martel in vain to come to his aid against Luitprand, the King of the Lombards. According to the Lombard historian this ruler was a chaste, beneficent, and liberal-minded man.* Subsequently Stephen II proceeded on a personal visit to Pepin, at that time at the palace of Pontyon, in France, where he was treated with every mark of respect and gained the object of his laborious and hazardous journey, namely, the promise of the King of the Franks to defend him against the new Lombard leader, Astolph, who had crossed the confines of the exarchate, seized Ravenna, and besieged Rome. Having far less respect for the religious feelings of his enemies than Luitprand, Astolph dug up the dead bodies of the Roman saints that he might carry them off, not, it is true, as a mark of scorn, but for tutelary deities in his own Lombardy. Pepin defeated Astolph, and the latter promptly surrendered the whole of the contested territory to his conqueror. The Byzantine empire, to which it had belonged ever since the reign of Justinian, and which had ruled it by exarchs, sent ambassadors to demand its restitution—a requisition which Pepin refused on the ground that his sole object in the war was vengeance for St. Peter.

Pepin, claiming the prerogative of the conqueror, gave the pope the entire territory of the exarchate, the Pentapolis (that is, the coast region extending from Rimini to Ancona), and the city of Comiaculum.† Pepin made the pope the patrician of the

* *Castus, pudicus, orator pervigil, eleemosynis largus, literarum quidem ignarus, sed philosophis æquandus.*—*Paul Diac.*

† The exact geography of the transfer is an undecided point in mediæval history, since the donative documents have been lost. From letters of Pope Stephen II

exarchate, and himself the patrician of Rome.* The pope willingly accepted the boon without seeming to spend a thought upon the fact that it was an integral part of the Byzantine empire.† The district thus formally transferred to the papacy was the first temporal possession of the popes of Rome, the founding of the States of the Church. The gift was made and accepted in defiance of all right; was later confirmed and extended in the same spirit; became the seed of innumerable ills to Christendom; and, after an existence of over eleven centuries, has at last come to an end in the present generation by the formal entrance of Victor Emmanuel into Rome and the adoption of the city as the capital of the kingdom amid the rejoicings of the long-enslaved people.

The donation to the papacy became seriously endangered subsequently to the death of Pepin by alliances between the Lombards and the Carolingian dynasties. Bertha, whose sons, Carloman and Charles, were the joint rulers of the Frankish

and Paul I, we learn that the territory comprised the cities of Faventia, Imola, and Ferraria, with their marches and the lands and forests, Auximum, Ancona, and Numana, with their environs, and Bononia so far as its limits extended. According to Baronius the region was much more extensive, comprising the cities of Ravenna, Ariminum, Pisaurum, Fanum, Cesena, Senogallia, Æsium, Forum Pompili, Forum Livii cum Castro Sussubio, Mons Feretri, Acerragium, Mons Lucari, Serra Castellum sancti Mariani (Marini), Bobium, Urbinum, Callium, Luceoli, Eugubium, Comiacum, and Narnia. Others make the donation still larger. The entire territory was about one hundred and fifty miles long and from sixty to eighty broad, extending back to the Apennines. Compare Wiltsh, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. i, p. 264.

* The patriciate, a dignity instituted by Constantine, was bestowed for life. The Patricius Romæ was properly governor of Rome, but could hold subordinate offices, and had the authority of a patricius. German kings received the title from emperors.—Gieseler, *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 35, note 11. The Franciscan Pagi makes the patrician a lieutenant of the Church rather than of the empire. On the title and authority of this office compare Ducange (*Gloss. Lat.*, tom. v, pp. 149-151); Pagi (*Critica*, A. D. 740, No. 6-11); Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. vi, pp. 308-329); and St. Marc (*Abrégé Chronologique de l'Italie*, tome i, pp. 379-382).

† It is not quite clear how Stephen himself eluded the claims of the Greek emperor—probably through the emperor's heresy. In Stephen's letter of thanks for his deliverance to the King of the Franks he desires to know what answer had been given to the silentary commissioned to assert the rights of his master. He reminds Pepin that he must protect the Catholic Church against pestilent wickedness (*malitia*, no doubt the iconoclastic opinions of the emperor), and keep her property secure (*omnia proprietatis sue*).—Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, p. 427.

empire, sought to strengthen their power by a combination with the Lombard kings, while, on the other hand, Desiderius, the new Lombard sovereign, successor to Astolph, was desirous of propping up, by similar alliances, his sovereignty, which for twenty years had been languishing between life and death.* His son Adelehis was betrothed to Giesela, the sister of the Frankish brothers, while Charles divorced his own wife, whose name is not preserved by history, to marry Hermingard, the daughter of the Lombard king. The papal possessions were now in great danger, according to all appearance, and Stephen III was not slow in remonstrating against such an iniquitous alliance in such language as Milman says is "hardly to be equaled in pontifical diplomacy." The pope protested as follows:

The devil alone could have suggested such a connection. That the noble, the generous race of the Franks, the most ancient in the world, should ally itself with the fetid brood of the Lombards, a brood hardly reckoned human, and who have introduced the leprosy into the land! What could be worse than this abominable and detestable contagion?

It was not on moral grounds, but on grounds of mere papal interest, that the remonstrance was made, as may be seen in every word. Charles, however, whose empire was still divided with his brother, had policy in view, for, in case of conflict with Carloman, he could reasonably expect the aid of the Lombards. So soon as his interests permitted he divorced Hermingard, sent her back to her father's court, and took to wife Hildegard, a Swabian princess. Carloman, who died in 771, left two sons, but their rights were ignored, and Charles became sole ruler over the Frankish empire. The old relations with the papacy, never interrupted, were once more friendly even to the public eye.

Desiderius, stung by the wrong done his daughter, excited by the threatening attitude of Charles, and espousing the cause of the two disinherited sons of Carloman, appealed for redress to Adrian I, the successor in the papacy to Stephen III, and invited a visit from him with the understanding that he should anoint Carloman's sons as Frankish kings. This being declined and the pope refusing to dissolve his alliance with Charles, the

* Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Murray's (London) edition, 1872, with notes by Milman, Guizot, and Smith, vol. vi, p. 157; Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 438, ff.

Lombard king invaded his dominions and possessed himself of the territory acquired by Pepin. He sacked some cities of the Romagna, stripped the country of its wealth, perpetrated a massacre in the Tuscan town of Blera, and marched toward Rome. Adrian I appealed to Charles for help. The response was prompt and direct. The first measure was pacific, in the double form of a request that Desiderius surrender to the pope the territory which he had captured, but receive a large sum of money as an equivalent. Desiderius evaded any action, thinking that Charles was too much engaged with the Saxons in the north and with the consolidation of his own territory to follow up his verbal propositions by forcible measures. Here he mistook the temper of the Frankish ruler. Charles, with that promptness which characterized all his movements, held a council of war in Geneva, March, 773, and then, dividing his army into two bodies, led the one himself over the Mont Cenis pass of the Alps and gave the other in charge of his uncle Bernhard, who led it over the Mont St. Bernard pass. The Alps on the north and the strong walls of the Lombard capital, Pavia, were the defenses of Desiderius; but Charles, though suffering a temporary defeat by the troops of Adelchis, the son of Desiderius, reached Pavia and began the siege of the city. The poet Longfellow, in his "*Tales of a Wayside Inn*," draws a beautiful picture of the terror which the hosts of Charles the Great inspired as the Lombard king saw them approach from the southern declivity of the Alps. Desiderius, standing upon a Pavian tower with Olger, the Dane, who had passed his youth as a hostage at the Frankish court, is represented as asking which is Charles as often as each new body of troops comes into view.

And Olger said :

"When you behold the harvests in the fields
Shaking with fear, the Po and the Ticino
Lashing the city walls with iron waves,
Then may you know that Charlemagne is come."
And even as he spake, in the northwest,
Lo! there uprose a black and threatening cloud,
Out of whose bosom flashed the light of arms
Upon the people pent up in the city;
A light more terrible than any darkness;
And Charlemagne appeared—a man of iron!
His helmet was of iron, and his gloves
Of iron, and his breastplate and his greaves

And tassets were of iron, and his shield.
 In his left hand he held an iron spear,
 In his right hand his sword invincible.
 The horse he rode on had the strength of iron,
 And color of iron. All who went before him,
 Beside him, and behind him—his whole host—
 Were armed with iron, and their hearts within them
 Were stronger than the armor that they wore.
 The fields and all the roads were filled with iron,
 And points of iron glistened in the sun
 And shed a terror through the city streets.
 This at a single glance Olger the Dane
 Saw from the tower, and, turning to the king,
 Exclaimed in haste: "Behold! this is the man
 You looked for with such eagerness!" and then
 Fell as one dead at Desiderio's feet.

Charles immediately became master of all northern Italy except the cities of Pavia and Verona, which bravely resisted, but whose submission could only be a question of time. Leaving sufficient troops to continue the siege of Pavia, he proceeded in the holy week of 774 to Rome to confer and receive such honors as would cement anew the union between his dynasty and the papacy, or, if the Frankish annalist, Eginhard, be reliable, "to pray at St. Peter's tomb." His approach to the city was signalized by the rejoicings of the pope, the clergy, and all the inhabitants. Thirty thousand citizens, with the senate, the nobility, and the school children, received him with flying colors, crosses, branches of palm and olive, and rapturous shouts. The conqueror dismounted on seeing the cross; walked with his warriors, nobles, and courtiers through the city to the steps of the Vatican; on his knees climbed the steps of St. Peter's, kissing them as he ascended, and at the top was received by the pope with affectionate embraces. They then proceeded together into the crypt where St. Peter's body is claimed by pious Romanists to lie, and there swore to each other indissoluble fraternity. On Wednesday, April 6, 774, he renewed, by virtue of his right as conqueror, his father's territorial donation to the papacy, and, to give the act peculiar solemnity, laid the document on the altar of St. Peter. This record, so important to papal interests, has long since disappeared, but its conditions are conceded to have been the termination of all claims of the Greek empire on the exarchate, and the con-

firmation and enlargement of the donation of Pepin.* Whether the gift was without limitation, or only a formal and feudal tenure, under certain circumstances reversible to the Frankish empire, has never been fully decided.† However this may be, the territory before long was universally conceded to be the unconditional property of the papacy, and was accordingly so governed, the popes assuming the dignity and demanding the recognitions of temporal sovereigns, the city of Rome alone sustaining a measure of independent government. The revenues, both ecclesiastical and civil, flowed into the papal treasury.

Charles returned to Pavia and brought the siege to a triumphant close. Desiderius presented himself as a submissive penitent at the conqueror's camp, and Charles, after the usual rejoicings and distribution of rewards to his soldiers, took with him the Lombard king and his wife, who ended their days in the cloister of Corby, while their son Adelchis escaped to Constantinople, where he hoped to regain the lost throne. Thus ended, as an independent power, the Lombard kingdom, which had been founded by Alboin on the banks of the Po; and Charles took to himself, in the years 774 and 775, the title of "King of the Lombards and Patrician of Rome."‡

There were two more attempts to revive the Lombard kingdom by the arrest of the united power of the papacy and the Frankish ruler. A Lombard league, with Arigiso, the son-in-law of Desiderius, at its head, gained strength by the patronage of the Greek ruler and the schemes of Adelchis, and threatened to restore the old condition of things. But Charles the Great responded to the importunity of Adrian I, and, crossing the

* Protestant writers, and some Roman Catholics, claim, and with excellent grounds, that the donation was an enlargement of Pepin's. Wiltach, the best authority on ecclesiastical geography, says: "Whether Charlemagne merely confirmed the Romish see in its former possessions, as some writers assume, or whether he added new ones to them, is a matter which, in my opinion, ought not to raise the slightest doubt, as the words of Adrian I, in his first and thirteenth letters to Charlemagne, speak most distinctly of cities of Tuscia, of Spoletum, Beneventum, Corsica, and Sabina."—*Geography and Statistics of the Church*, vol. I, p. 265.

† For a careful examination of this question, with the views of conflicting writers, comp. Baxmann, *Politik der Päpste*, vol. I, pp. 276, 277.

‡ Döllinger says: "Charlemagne never called himself King of Italy, but only King of the Lombards, but he was really King of Italy."—*Münch. Hist. Jahrbuch*, 1865, p. 329.

Alps again, subdued the foe, took as hostages the two sons of Arigiso, and required an annual tribute of seven thousand pieces of gold. The second struggle was the vain effort of Adelchis, who, while commanding a Greek force, which had been fitted out by the direct order of Constantine, the Greek emperor, was deserted by his men and compelled to flee for safety.

Charles had already made three visits to Rome. Of the first, in 774, with its bearing on the future territorial possessions of the papacy, we have already spoken. The second and third, in the years 781 and 787, were hardly of less moment, each being characterized by great benefactions "for the good of his soul," and by equally great concessions from the pope. But the visit of the year 800 was by far the most significant.

Pope Adrian I, after a long reign of twenty-four years, had died in 795, and was succeeded by Leo III, whose election was a great surprise to the people and aroused a very strong opposition. He continued toward Charles the Great the friendly policy of his predecessor, and was prompt in sending to him as the recognized Patrician of Rome the standard of the city and the keys of both the city and the tomb of St. Peter. The hostility to Leo III culminated in the fourth year of his reign, on the ground of alleged irregularities and crimes, in the form of an attack by a band of armed men, who attempted to mutilate him, and only left him when life was nearly extinct. The pope was rescued, however, and finally recovered. His reign was nevertheless in danger; and while he had the sympathy of many there were others who believed him a great offender. The presence and aid of Charles the Great were loudly called for in Rome; but the Frankish ruler, who, at that time was holding his court in the German city of Paderborn, invited the pope, then a fugitive in Spoleto, to make him a visit. The reception was worthy of both host and guest. There were great rejoicings and much feasting. Each manifested to the other the recognitions becoming his official dignities. During the festivities charges against Leo III, in the name of the Roman people—*quæ a populo Romano ei objiciebantur*, as Eginhard relates—were preferred to Charles, who postponed all final adjudication until he might himself visit Rome. Leo III, attended by an escort of two archbishops, five bishops, and five counts, returned to Rome, not only without opposition, but amid general rejoic-

ings, for it was clear to all that he had the sympathy of Charles, and would most likely profit by his future decision. It seems that Charles had some object in view in starting for Italy far more important than a mere quarrel of the pope with his rivals and enemies. He seems to have surrounded every movement with an air of unusual solemnity, and to have proceeded with a slowness quite new to him. He went first to Rouen and then to the city of Tours, already renowned in Carolingian history, where he worshiped at the shrine of St. Martin and received at the hands of Alcuin, his faithful friend, a copy of the Bible, with corrections by the learned abbot himself. He thence again crossed France to the Rhine and held a diet at Mayence. It was only in the following year, 800, and toward the end of it, that he went southward toward Rome. He was met by Leo III at Nomento, where they took breakfast together and the most cordial salutations were exchanged. Then the pope returned to the city, that he might give official sanction to the popular demonstration. On the next day, November 24, Leo III, surrounded by a great array of clergy, received him with all the honors due a king and conqueror amid the singing of psalms and general rejoicings. For seven days the Frankish ruler, acting the part of judge, and surrounded by the clergy from far and near, the Roman civil dignitaries, and his own Frankish counselors and chiefs, held a solemn synod in St. Peter's Church. The two plaintiffs, Paschalis and Campulus, were requested to prove their charges against Leo III. They were silent, only excusing themselves on the ground of reverence for the office rather than the person of the pope.* Charles rendered his decision, which could only be favorable to Leo III, whereupon the latter made a public declaration of his innocence in the following language :

I, Leo, pontiff of the Holy Roman Church, being subject to no judgment, under no compulsion, of my own free will, in your presence, before God, who reads the conscience, and his angels, and the blessed apostle Peter, in whose presence we stand, declare myself not guilty of the charges made against me. I have never perpetrated, nor commanded to be perpetrated, the wicked deeds of which I had been accused. This I call God to witness, whose

* According to the *Book of the Popes*, they said : " We do not venture to condemn the apostolic see, the head of all the Churches of God, for by it and its representatives we shall all be judged ; but it shall be judged by no man."

judgment we must all undergo ; and this I do, bound by no law, nor wishing to impose this custom on my successors or on my brother bishops, but that I may altogether relieve you from any unjust suspicions against myself.

There was now performed an act toward which both the victories of Charles the Great and the relations of the papacy to the Carolingian dynasty had been steadily tending for years, and which was destined to affect alike the ecclesiastical and secular history of the civilized world down to modern times. It was on Christmas Day, 800, or, according to the reckoning then in use in the West, the first day of the year 801. Charles, the members of his great court, the nobility of Rome, a multitude of private citizens, and the clergy from Italy and distant parts of the known world were present in St. Peter's, and the now exculpated Leo III performed in person the high mass in commemoration of the nativity of the Redeemer. The scene was one of great splendor, and such as Rome, wont to be splendid alike in her miseries and her joys, had not witnessed since the days of the Cæsars. The pope's voice fell ; its cadences died away in the distant recesses of St. Peter's, and the vast multitude were mute and motionless. Amid the pause Leo III advanced toward his royal visitor, bearing a magnificent crown, which he placed upon Charles's head, saying : "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor!"* The multitude shouted their acclamations, and the pope, who was the first to bow the knee as subject to the emperor, concluded his act by anointing Charles, and then his son Pepin, with the holy oil of imperial consecration.

What, now, was the meaning of this papal conferral of imperial dignities ? Far more than the outward circumstances, brilliant as they were, would seem to indicate. Charles affected to be surprised, and Eginhard, his secretary, wrote that the displeasure of the Frankish monarch at the act was very great, and that such a desecration of the place and the occasion would not have been tolerated if he had known of the pope's design ; nevertheless, that he bore the contumacy "with great patience."†

* Anast. 199 : "Carolo piissimo Augusto a Deo coronato, magno, pacifico imperatori, vita et victoria."

† *Insidiam tamen suscepti nominis Romanis Imperatoribus super hoc indignantibus, magna tulit patientia, vicitque eorum contumaciam magnanimitate.*—Vit. Kar., xxvii.

The affair was, in all probability, a fine piece of stage effect. Never was a public surprise more carefully prearranged. Without doubt it had been adroitly concerted over the winecups at Paderborn; for every step that the king and pope had taken since the papal visit to Germany had been tending that way, and is only explicable by the consummation in St. Peter's. It was the climax of tedious, careful, unwearied good management on both sides.

The coronation of Charles the Great by Leo III was, on the one hand, an affair of unblushing arrogance in the pope, for it claimed the necessity as well as right of papal consecration to imperial honors; but then, on the other, it was the selection and endowment, with all the traditional sanctities of the Church, of one man, with his family after him, as the fit and legitimate successors to the throne of the Cæsars. It is difficult to say which, King or Pope, was the greater gainer by the act. Both profited beyond computation; and yet the historian is seldom so fortunate in tracing evils to a positive and direct source as in ascribing the oppressions of the papal see, the arrogation of rights never contemplated in the early Church to spiritual guides, gross immorality in both clergy and laity, and all this for many centuries, to the coronation of Charles the Great, and the anointing which immediately followed, at the hands of Leo III. The new emperor, in recognition of his changed relation, laid aside his barbarian costume and clad himself in the tunic, chlamys, and sandals of the Roman.* The whole Western Empire was now under one mighty ruler, while the papacy, with Rome as the ecclesiastical metropolis of Latin Christendom, was supplied with complete and perpetual guaranties to territorial ownership. The bonds of emperor and pope were now intimate as never before; and as Leo III gave the new-crowned Charles his final embrace and lost sight of his splendid escort behind the outlying hills of the Campagna, each, for himself and his successors, entered upon a different career, and a new chapter in mediæval history and European civilization was introduced.

* Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, vol. ii, pp. 459, ff.

John F. Hurst

ART. II.—THE TRUE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO PETER.

THERE is no denying the existence of a "higher criticism" in the study of the Bible. Some order of composition, some facts relating to authorship, date, and revision must be true. To ascertain the real order and the genuine facts is a legitimate aim of broad and sound scholarship. At some point of intellectual development in the Church these endeavors are natural, and while they may excite apprehensions as to the popular effect of such study they cannot be successfully opposed. Real harm may be done to the minds of persons unprepared for any change of views from the chaotic but traditional opinions that have long prevailed. In the progress of these investigations it would be singular if many false theories are not proposed before the correct one finally appears. But when the correct view comes to light we may reasonably expect that it will so meet all the demands of the situation as to strengthen faith in the authority of the Bible and tend greatly to the advantage of Christianity and true religion.

The center of interest in the higher criticism of the sacred Scriptures is naturally found in the four gospels, as containing the history of Him who is the fulfillment of the Old Testament and the agent of the new covenant between God and man. Right here, therefore, is where the battle of the critics has waged most fiercely, and where a multitude of diverse and conflicting theories have been propounded, without as yet achieving any clear and well-defined result. However, with the exception of Baur and his school, who seem to be seeking anything else than to establish the truth, most critical students and commentators acknowledge at least an apostolic basis of testimony, whether written or oral, as the foundation of the gospels, only leaving open the question as to when and how these four books came to be in their present form. One class of these, led by Eichhorn and Marsh, assume that there must have been certain original documents, now lost, from which our present gospels were composed. But, as this hypothesis only relieves one set of difficulties by introducing another set not less formidable, it may be passed by as unsatisfactory. A second class of critics have professed to find that some one of the first three

is the basis of the other two synoptical gospels; but, unfortunately, they are not agreed as to which gospel fully meets the required conditions. Yet, however, the more recent trend of opinion appears to be decidedly in favor of Mark as the true original. This view, first proposed by Herder, has been supported by such scholars as Weisse, Ewald, Lachmann, Reuss, Ritschl, Meyer, and lately by Professor Wendt, of Heidelberg. Some of the grounds for this opinion are quite obvious. For instance, it is found that all but about twenty-four verses of Mark are paralleled in the history as given by Matthew and Luke. True, this can be accounted for by supposing that Mark simply compiled his gospel by collecting facts from the other two. But the abundant and graphic details, the evident touches of nature, the irregular yet strong arrangement of the history, all seem to give this gospel the stamp of independence, if not of special originality, as compared with its cowitnesses. We shall examine this point more minutely a little farther on, for here we must again pause to meet another serious obstacle.

The voice of antiquity, it is said, unanimously assigns the first place to Matthew, and this puts a tangle in all our attempts at solving the problem. Besides, the shorter gospel is unanimously attributed to Mark, and he is said to have written it by direction of the apostle Peter while at Rome, perhaps about the year A. D. 62, at the very earliest. And, as many contend, this gospel contains evidence in its language, style, and scope that it was intended for Gentile Christians. Now, if anything can be taken as a settled principle of higher criticism, it is that historical testimonies as to authorship and canonicity are of less weight than the evidence of internal consistency and the general color and drift of the book. And we are confident that by further searching the internal evidence our perplexities will yet be solved and the true sequence of the gospels clearly shown. We have recently, in our casual reading, struck upon a clew which appears to be in such harmony with the known facts, and also to introduce such an order of logical connection between the gospels, that we wonder it has not been noticed before; yet we are unable to find it expressed in any of the critical works at our hand.* Our new idea is, essentially,

*The nearest approach that we can find to this hypothesis is that of Köstlin; but we are unable to ascertain exactly what his view was.

that the gospel according to Mark contains palpable traces of having been originally composed for Galileans. Let us first look at Galilee, then at the gospel.

Galilee and its people were peculiarly situated with respect to the common hope of Israel and the career of Jesus of Nazareth. The country or province was a part of the ancient territory belonging to the twelve tribes. Its people were mostly of the same blood, spoke the same language, and cherished the same religious ideas as those of southern Palestine; but they were separated by the intervening district of the Samaritans from Judea and Jerusalem, the traditional seat of theocratic institutions and national worship. Unlike the scattered communities of the dispersion among the Gentiles in Egypt, Asia Minor, Rome, and elsewhere, they were not affected by the distant contemplation of the land of their fathers, nor compelled by religious isolation to contrast sharply their own creed and customs with those of the wealthy and cultured heathen, so as to feel a sense of peculiar attachment to Jerusalem. On the contrary, the partial separation of Galilee from Judea was a circumstance to cause some conflict of interests between the two sections, more or less, similar to that which anciently existed between Judah and Israel. As related to the temple, the great feasts, the priesthood, and the rabbinical schools, the situation of the Galileans was, in short, provincial. They were not in immediate possession of the sacred institutions nor under the direct influence of the spirit of Judaism as developed at Jerusalem. They could not go up regularly to the great feasts, and in doing so they were recognized by their dialect as "country cousins" from Galilee. See Matt. xxvi, 73, and Luke xxii, 59. Yet Galilee was too large, too populous and wealthy and proud, to meekly admit all the superior pretensions of her southern sister. In the time of Christ she enjoyed the dignity of a separate government, which was amply justified by her resources. Besides, being less amenable to the stricter Jewish sentiment and customs, the Galileans were probably influenced by the presence of a considerable foreign element in their midst. Some Romans there doubtless were, at least a military force (Matt. viii, 5, and Luke vii, 2). We are informed by Josephus that Greeks dwelt in the cities of Galilee,* and Strabo says that in

* *Life*, 12.

his time, shortly before Christ, it was largely inhabited by Phœnicians, Syrians, and Arabs. The result of this would be a more kindly regard for all men, regardless of nationality, and a religious sentiment less hampered by ceremonies or traditional prejudices.

It was here in Galilee, in this favorable religious soil, that Jesus of Nazareth was reared to manhood, and among this people he spent nearly nine tenths of his active ministry. Here were his relations, his friends, and his acquaintances, and here he selected his apostles and made most of his converts. But in view of the fact that Jesus closed his ministry at Jerusalem, and that after his departure the infant Church was formed, by his command, at that city instead of some city in Galilee, nothing is more natural than that the people of Galilee, disciples and all others, should desire some authoritative statement of the particulars concerning his sufferings and death at Jerusalem and of his resurrection. To such an account would naturally be prefixed some general narration of his career and preaching in Galilee for those who had only been fortunate enough to have seen the Saviour once or twice or to have heard a few fragments of his doctrines. In no other place on the earth was there such a demand for further information concerning Jesus for the first few years after his departure from this world.

That this desire was neither small nor prompted wholly by vain curiosity is shown from the early establishment and growth of the Church among the Galileans, and this was without any special help from the presence and labors of the twelve apostles. We read in the Acts that they, together with many other believers, continued at Jerusalem, preaching the word and baptizing thousands of converts, until "the persecution that arose about Stephen." The length of this time is not clearly given, but enough is reported to show that it must have been several weeks or months, or more likely much longer. Then the disciples "were scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles" (viii, 1), who still remained at Jerusalem for a season. But about three years later, after Paul's conversion and return from Arabia, we read of churches in "Judea and Galilee and Samaria" as existing in a most prosperous state (ix, 31).

Then, if not before, Galilee was ready for an authorized

history of Jesus's ministry, including his sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension in Judea. Such a document would be desired and necessary to the instruction and edification of believers, especially in the absence of the apostles. Is it reasonable to think that such a demand would be met? We think so. It seems inevitable. For the sake of truth the apostles would even be compelled to send out some authorized story of their Master's life, a primitive gospel. Not that they took corporate action upon the subject, but the work must be done by one of their number. And who so likely to prepare that account as their recognized spokesman, the first confessor of Jesus's divinity, his defender in the garden of Gethsemane, the foremost witness and speaker on the day of Pentecost? Moreover, we read that at this very time Peter was traveling "throughout all quarters," and he would not have failed to visit Galilee (ix, 32) and personally learn the need of a history of his Master.

And here we may mention again that, although tradition is a unit in making Peter the original authority for Mark's gospel, yet the earliest writers totally disagree as to how Mark received the facts from Peter. It is only known that Mark published the gospel at Rome about the time of the apostle's martyrdom. May not Peter have committed his gospel to writing long before in a fragmentary form, leaving it to Mark to be filled out with reverential hand for the Church after his departure? It is well known that the gospel of Mark contains some incongruities of style. The last twelve verses have long been regarded as coming from a later hand than the original author. Yet they are quoted as genuine by so early a witness as Irenæus (A. D. 170), and as a condensed statement of facts they are very similar to the first thirteen verses of the gospel.

Let us turn to some other peculiarities. Passing by the first thirteen verses as only a compendium of facts, whoever may be the real author, and omitting the last twelve verses, we find that Mark is very much the shortest of the gospels. And this brevity is the more significant when we note how the narrative is expanded with details and impressions that are omitted by the other evangelists. It is a characteristic especially valuable in a witness of facts, and has often been remarked upon as a striking proof that the author of Mark's gospel must have been a companion of Jesus.

The style, too, reminds us at once of Peter recounting his Master's history to his own countrymen of Galilee. It agrees with all that we know of the man; abrupt, honest, impetuous. As we should expect from a fisherman, the principal facts and deepest impressions are given without much regard to order of time or logical completeness. This shows Peter as he was, a man of a strong mind and deep sensibilities, but not of education and literary training. Rather a man of action than of discourse, Peter speaks here as in his sermons recorded in the Acts and in his epistles, convincing more through sympathetic force than by a formal argument or rhetorical effort.

The language of this gospel, as distinguished from subject-matter or literary style, is a further support of Peter's authorship. It is generally said by the critics to be very bad Greek, such as would be used only among the more illiterate part of the people. Peter may have picked up some Greek while yet engaged in his calling at Capernaum, as Greeks were more or less numerous there. He would naturally become more conversant with that tongue in his subsequent experiences, though it goes without saying that he was never a Greek scholar. Mark is called by early writers Peter's interpreter. Some make the word to mean only a secretary. In any case it is not likely that a man employed in that capacity, who had been reared at Jerusalem and had traveled extensively in his youth among the centers of Greek culture and learning, would make such bad work of either translation or composition. Far more probable does it appear that Mark was too wise and reverent to change the writing of his spiritual father more than was strictly necessary to render it complete and intelligible to the Greek-speaking world. The Latinisms occurring in this gospel may have arisen from the commingling of Romans with the Galileans. The Aramaic expressions found here and there—"Talitha cumi" (v, 41), "Ephphatha" (vii, 34), "Abba" (xiv, 36)—show a Galilean atmosphere of thought.

The evidence to be gathered from the personal allusions in Mark's gospel are hardly conclusive; but it seems to us singular that the omission of Peter's name in some places, or of events in which he had a prominent part, should be taken by some for proof that he was not the author of the gospel. The same reasoning would establish beyond a doubt that John

had nothing to do with writing the fourth gospel. The omissions referred to would not have been made if Mark had been the sole author of the gospel now bearing his name. We see an evidence of modesty in the story of Peter's confession (viii, 29), and in the answer to his question concerning the recompense of the apostles (x, 28), as compared with the corresponding passages in Matthew. The mention of Boanerges as a surname given by Christ to the sons of Zebedee, and the failure to record their mother's ambition for them, are strongly suggestive of Peter as a near and considerate friend. Peter was impulsive and ardent, but not selfish nor egotistic. In these respects he surpassed both John and Paul. Rather his reluctance to give offense was the occasion of complaisance sometimes amounting to weakness (Gal. ii, 11-14). Perhaps this same characteristic may also account for some peculiarities in the gospel given out under his authority. At any rate, the Galilean standpoint of Mark's gospel is seen in the following particulars :

1. It makes no mention whatever of Christ's birth in Bethlehem, nor of any circumstances elsewhere related in connection with that event.

2. Except in the opening verses prefixed by Mark it contains no citations of Old Testament prophecies that were fulfilled in the life of Jesus.

3. The history largely relates to Christ's ministry in Galilee until just before his crucifixion at Jerusalem. (This is followed by Matthew and Luke.)

4. It gives several Aramaic expressions used by the Saviour and not found elsewhere. "Talitha cumi" (v, 41), "Ephphatha" (vii, 34), "Abba" (xiv, 36).

5. The names of persons and places in Galilee are treated more as present and familiar than in the other synoptic gospels. There is no commenting or explanation about the facts in Galilee, though names and circumstances are given more fully than elsewhere. Here only do we find mention of the Lord's evangelistic tours in Decapolis and the nationality of the Syrophenician woman. Herod is always called by his popular title of "king," not "tetrarch." Peter's own humble calling and place of residence, with the names of his associates, are fully given.

6. There is no such familiarity with the Jewish country and people. We are told as information that "the disciples of John and of the Pharisees used to fast" (ii, 18). The customs of the Pharisees as to washing of hands, of cups, and vessels are expressly described (vii, 3, 4). Mention is also made of the coming of the scribes and Pharisees from Jerusalem (vii, 1). The writer of Mark omits the name of the woman who anointed the Saviour's feet at Bethlehem, as she was not personally known in Galilee.

7. A slight recognition of sectional animus is perceptible here and there. The Saviour's rebuke of the Pharisees for traditionalism and hypocrisy is related (vii, 6-13); also his stern prophecy of their ultimate ruin because of rejecting him as Messiah (xii, 9-12). Our Lord's pathetic lament over the city of Jerusalem is not recorded by Mark, though given by both Matthew and Luke. The author tells how Peter was identified as one of the followers of Jesus of Nazareth by his Galilean dialect (xiv, 66-70). He also gives a very particular account of Barabbas, of the shameful conduct of the chief priests and others at the crucifixion, of Simon the Cyrenian, of the Galilean women who were present, and of Joseph of Arimathea. Many of these details would hardly be so important at Rome as in Galilee. But Pilate was not leniently judged, and the whole barbarous cruelty of the soldiers is related without one word about Herod, the Galilean king.

8. On the other hand, the author of Mark relates the story of John the Baptist's martyrdom at length as a matter of Galilean history. He mentions the Saviour's tender compassion for the common people that thronged about him "because they were as sheep not having a shepherd," and because of their infirmities and privations and the sacrifices they made to hear the Gospel (i, 34-41; vi, 34-50; viii, 2, 3). The story of the tribute money taken from the fish's mouth is omitted, probably because it might have given unnecessary offense to the local authorities still living at Capernaum. A remarkably significant omission is that of the Saviour's anathemas against Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum, as recorded by both Matthew (xi, 20-24) and Luke (x, 13-15).

9. This gospel, more than any other, makes prominent the humanity of Jesus Christ as he appeared to men around him.

He was a carpenter, had relations and neighbors, felt as a man, was weary, grieved, compassionate, angry (iii, 5). This is a strong proof of early date and Peter's authorship. If we admit that the human element may coexist in any degree with the divine inspiration of the sacred Scriptures, then this explanation of its origin takes nothing from the inspired authority of the gospel according to Mark. If possible, it rather strengthens that authority. The name of the gospel is of secondary importance; yet as Mark outlived Peter and published this gospel at Rome, being the responsible editor, it is not hard to see how the present title may have arisen.* The sacred canon was not always the same in the earliest writers; but it is possible to understand how this gospel came to be placed after Matthew.†

When we recall the dim tradition of a "gospel by Peter," and another "of the Nazarenes," whose nature is not really known, and that Christ's followers were long called "Galileans," or "Nazarenes," we seem to recover lost history (Acts xxiv, 5). The derivation of Matthew's gospel from the original one of Peter, before it was republished by Mark, seems to present no great difficulties. There was a demand at Jerusalem for a written history of Christ similar to that possessed by the Galileans. The latter was confessedly not a complete work, and from the standpoint of a Hebrew consciousness a new gospel was necessary. In undertaking this task Matthew, perhaps assisted by James, would naturally make use of the former gospel, condensing some portions, introducing much new matter, and filling out the plan to something like logical completeness. The idea was still to present, not a chronicle, but a picture of Christ and his mission. Therefore the division of his ministry into Galilean and Judean sections was left as before; but the point of view was changed in accordance with the audience.

* The real occasion for republishing this fragmentary gospel at Rome was, no doubt, the realized importance of Peter's testimony as a personal witness of Jesus's ministry, sufferings, death, and resurrection; also as one who was especially honored by the Saviour on more than one occasion, and who was, besides, the natural leader of the twelve apostles.

† The position of the books in the canon is of little weight in deciding their sequence of origin. Early authorities give different orders of the gospels. Besides, Matthew was probably at one time the leading gospel among Jewish Christians; and an earlier one, left in a fragmentary form by Peter and completed by Mark, may have been put in the second place by reason of its being less comprehensive.

The gospel according to Matthew is more elaborate and finished in every way than Mark. The style is better, the Greek is improved, and the logical arrangement is more apparent. It begins with the genealogy of Christ. Then come the history of his birth at Bethlehem and, the various important episodes associated with that great event. The Sermon on the Mount, strangely omitted by Mark, is now reported in full, with some apparent references to the state of religion in Judea and Jerusalem (v, 20, 35; vii, 29). Many other sayings of Christ, with fresh incidents of his ministry and numerous parables before unmentioned, crowd the pages of Matthew's gospel, while few things given by Mark are here passed over altogether. But we see everywhere the indications of a new moral environment, of a Hebrew consciousness that is absent in Mark. The fulfillment of the prophecies in Christ is constantly noted. The new and more spiritual character of Christ's teaching is emphasized in contrast with the formality and coldness of Judaism; yet the author remarks Christ's recognition of the official dignity and authority of the scribes and Pharisees (xxiii, 2, 3). Again he dwells upon the mission of Christ to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (x, 5, 6; xv, 24), and he records the Master's indictment of the Jewish hierarchy and his lament over the city of Jerusalem with unequaled fullness and pathos. In this gospel are no explanations concerning Jewish customs and the like. Everything in Judea is familiar. But not so with reference to Galilee. No mention is made of Joseph and Mary's residence at Nazareth before their sojourn at Bethlehem. The author states in a distant way that, after returning from Egypt, Joseph "turned aside into the parts of Galilee: and he came and dwelt in a city called Nazareth." The added prophecy seems almost an apology.

Again, he describes the beginning of the Saviour's ministry with a quotation from Isaiah, calling the north country "Galilee of the Gentiles" (iv, 15), and intimating that the people were in deep need of moral illumination. He also says of Jesus, "Leaving Nazareth, he came and dwelt in Capernaum, which is upon the sea coast" (iv, 13). Again, he says, as of something far off, "Jesus, walking by the Sea of Galilee," but Mark puts it vividly, "Now as he walked by the Sea of Galilee." He calls Herod the "tetrarch;" and his own former place

under the government of Galilee is perhaps the reason he so frequently recalls the Saviour's words concerning the class of "publicans." He omits the name of Jairus and of Decapolis, the blind man's cure at Bethsaida, the name of Bartimeus, and the story of the poor widow that put two mites into the treasury. All these doubtless impressed Matthew less than Peter. Yet Matthew was friendly to Peter, and could use his gospel in all good conscience as a source of information.

The gospel of Matthew must have been written early. The allusions to the calling of the Gentiles (viii, 11, 12; xx, 16; xxi, 43; xxii, 8-10; xxv, 32) imply a date not far from the time when Barnabas and Paul pleaded the cause of the Gentile converts before the council of the apostles (Acts xv). Such views could hardly have matured in their minds much before that time, and soon afterward the apostles were dispersed.

If our position in regard to the gospel of Mark and its relation to that of Matthew is fairly established, we can certainly feel greater confidence as to the relation of Luke. This is more like Matthew than like Mark, although it follows the general order of both in treating of the Saviour's ministry as Galilean and Judean, with special reference to incidents on the last journey up to Jerusalem. But here, for the first time, we come in contact with genuine Greek culture as revealed in correct grammar and a true literary style. Though there are traces of rabbinical learning, as well as of secular training (i, 5-80; ii, 1, 21-39; iii, 1, 2; ix, 53; xiii, 1-5; xxiii, 1-7, etc.), yet both the Galilean and Hebrew consciousness sink away out of sight in this gospel by Luke. The fulfillment of prophecy is noted only in a general way (xxiv, 25-27, 44-46). The Jews are condemned for blindness and hypocrisy, but the calling of the Gentiles is not emphasized. The author does not profess to have had personal acquaintance with Jesus, but he evidently made free use of the gospels already in existence, omitting, modifying, or adding from other sources of undoubted authority in consultation, as is supposed, with the apostle Paul. The whole fabric of the gospel is woven afresh, in accordance with a new and broader view of the Saviour's mission than was given before. In reporting the author makes more of the substance of Christ's teaching than of the literal precept, and he has an artistic sense of propriety and effect in composition. Among the new say-

ings, incidents, and parables here introduced we perceive an emotional element and an analysis of mental states not seen in any other gospel. We accept the usual view of the authorship, date, and purpose of this, the last of the synoptic books.

John's gospel, in relation to the others, is like the top of a tripod candlestick. The synoptic gospels represent the Galilean, Hebrew, and Græco-Roman standpoints of thought; but John, while recognizing the importance and correctness of their work, which he did not desire to change, had lived to outgrow his early and rudimentary views of Christ's mission in the world. He now desires, out of the fullness of a long, rare, and ripe experience, to complete the record and supply some elements heretofore omitted. Therefore he undertakes to fill some gaps left by the former gospels. He gives some important incidents of the Lord's early ministry that were previously known to but few. He describes the occasional visits of Jesus to Jerusalem, his discourses there in the temple, his relations to the family at Bethany, the raising of Lazarus, the circumstances of the last supper, and the remarkable words of our Lord upon that occasion, together with other details, which John alone, as a privileged person at the house of the high priest, and as the apostle most personally intimate with Jesus, would naturally be able to furnish. Over all, from the beginning of his gospel to its close, he throws the one quality that found such unusual development in his own mind as a Christian and theologian. It is simply that deep and clear apprehension of spiritual truth which the beloved apostle caught from his Master when all others were slow in its recognition. It needs no comment to show that the standpoint of this gospel is preeminently Christian, and that it was written for the "perfecting of the saints" in Christ.

This, in brief, is our view of the origin and sequence of the four gospels. It is not wholly new nor eminently critical; but it brings together a number of elements that have been floating disconnectedly and binds them into natural harmony.

Austin Humble.

ART. III.—"HAMLET," FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THEOLOGY.

To say, as most critics do, that the drama of "Hamlet" is the finished product of Shakespeare's pen is to assign it at once its place as the masterpiece of literature. For the incomparable genius whose works are the crowning glory of the English mind the diligent student comes to feel an admiration which rises almost to adulation, and which would be inexcusable were it not the case that those who are most capable of appreciating Shakespeare, because nearest him in gifts, are the ones who are most unreserved in their homage. Men like Milton and Dryden and Goethe and Carlyle look up to him as to some tallest peak of the Himalayas towering over the foothills that nestle at its base. As the fruit, therefore, of Shakespeare's ripened thought and observation, as a representation of human life into which he has poured his intensest powers, his "Hamlet" marks the highest point which the intellect of man, unaided by special inspiration, has reached.

But about this play hangs an obscurity strikingly in contrast with the naïve simplicity which elsewhere characterizes the poet's work. In its heart lies a secret which many have tried to fathom, but which yet defies discovery. The number of suggested explanations is the best evidence that none has commanded general assent; and, like a veiled Isis upon whose face none may look, the play of "Hamlet" still wears its mask of impenetrable mystery.

This very fact, however, leaves possible to us the supposition that such inscrutableness is a part of the poet's purpose. Perhaps he wished to portray a mystery; and his ability to place us, where he himself stood, confronted by an unsolved enigma, is the highest encomium upon his unrivaled art. May he not have meant to show us man himself rather than individual faculties—instead of striking single notes to sweep the gamut at a stroke? Have we not here a revelation of the poet's own struggles to find a unit of expression for that wayward and incomprehensible being we call man—a unit after which so many have striven, but ending at last, with Shakespeare as with others, in a confession of failure? Does the poet not

here teach us that man, placed in the midst of nature, must, after threading all its avenues and searching everywhere in its heights and depths to find some help for living and dying, be compelled to acknowledge nature's insufficiency to give this help, and return baffled and hopeless from his quest; and, by the discovery that his wings are not broad enough to touch the outer walls of the holy of holies in which he dwells, be forced to the conclusion, as was Socrates, that only a direct revelation from God can remove doubt and give clear light upon the pathway of duty and safety?

If this explanation is at all plausible, or even in the line of truth, the value of the drama to the theologian is incalculable. If a teacher, unexcelled by any of his race in the combination of profundity, breadth, insight, and sympathy; capable of appreciating and expressing every mood of our common humanity; one in whom the spirit of great nature seems to have incarnated itself, using his faculties as its oracles; and who had, therefore, all competency for his task with the sole exception of that special touch of God's Spirit which we call inspiration, is weak in matters relating to moral conduct and happiness, where Moses and Isaiah and Paul and John are strong, is empty where they are rich, is dubious and hesitating where they walk erect in clear light, and is compelled to clothe his thoughts with mystery and own his inability to "dissolve doubts"—what ampler proof than this can be given of our need of a Bible, or where shall we find deeper cause for gratitude that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" Whether this solution is tenable must be decided by examination of the history of the hero from whom the tragedy takes its name.

If heredity and environment are the controlling factors in human destiny and happiness, as many now say, it were hard to find one more favorably circumstanced than was Hamlet. Of princely birth and station, of "noble and most sovereign reason," of "unmatched form and feature," all natural gifts and graces uniting in him with the accomplishments of culture, the happiest auguries of the people combined with his own ideal dreams to predict a future as bright as purity, youth, and hope can create. Alas for us that such warm and fervid fancies, when they descend from their celestial birthplace into the cold atmosphere of earth, gender a mist that blinds, chills, and benumbs!

Out of the happy illusions in which the world lay bathed in a soft sunlight of peace the dreamer is awakened by a shock that rudely tests the foundation upon which hope and experience had been based. To such crises human life is exposed—an evidence of man's superiority to the mechanical apparatus of material existence. Such a crisis came to David Hume, to John Stuart Mill; such has come to many another soul; and its coming always makes an epoch. The form in which it came to Hamlet was this: His mother, the embodiment to him of all virtue and grace, had, within a brief period of his father's death and under circumstances which cruelly outraged his feelings of delicacy, married the brother of that father, now the sovereign of Denmark, but who was to Hamlet's own parent as a satyr to Hyperion. His happy isle lay devastated by a tornado, his bright dreams were eclipsed by the blackness of night, doubt and despair overwhelmed faith and hope, and life itself seemed insupportable.

In this state of skeptical uncertainty strange tidings were brought to him. The spirit of his father had left the invisible realm of death and had been seen by mortal eyes. At his demand it appeared to him, talked with him, disclosed the secrets of the past, gave him counsel as to duty in the future. On Hamlet the impression made was profound and lasting. At once the domain of the universe widened and knowledge was afforded of something beyond this world. The grave does not end all. The dead live. More than that, they possess memory, will, foresight, purpose. Human thought cannot be cramped within the limits of the seen and present. In fact, there came to him with intense power the conviction of the supernatural.

Thomas De Quincey, in one of the most eloquent paragraphs to be found in English literature, has said:

What is life? Darkness and formless vacancy for a beginning, or something beyond all beginning; then next a dim lotus of human consciousness finding itself afloat upon the bosom of waters without a shore; then a few sunny smiles and many tears; a little love and infinite strife; whisperings from paradise and fierce mockeries from the anarchy of chaos; dust and ashes; and once more darkness circling round as if from the beginning, and in this way rounding or making an island of our fantastic existence—that is human life.

But if such had been Hamlet's conception the appearance of the ghost had shattered it forever. Human life an island? Nay, not so; a peninsula rather, a promontory jutting out into the boundless sea of being, but connected by a narrow isthmus swept by storms with some vast undiscovered continent over which vapors hang and on whose shore billows break, yet whose bourn lay open to his view.

There came to Hamlet, we have said, the conviction of the supernatural. We must define what we mean when we use this word. What is the supernatural? It is quite wide of the mark and astray from the path to divide the universe into two realms and call one nature and the other the supernatural. We shall simply waste our strength in the endeavor to discover the boundary line that separates them. The temptation will be irresistible, either with Drummond and his school to compress the supernatural within its narrowest possible limits short of extinction, or else with the faith-curists and others similarly deluded to enlarge its area until it almost obliterates nature. The distinction between them is not territorial. By the supernatural is meant not facts, but a power. The word in strictness of speech is not correctly applicable to things, events, processes, but to the force which controls and manifests itself through these. What is cognizable by the senses or comes under the domain of law is nature; and nothing appears in the supernatural which is not in nature save the supernatural itself. For this reason the proof of the supernatural is always difficult in this world of nature, since it is so easy for the positivist, who accepts only facts, to deny the force behind them. We are given means of judging as to this, since the poet in the play tells us that others besides Hamlet had seen the ghost. It had appeared to Bernardo, plain, blunt soldier of the matter-of-fact kind:

A primrose by a river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more.

He could tell how the ghost looked, how long it stayed, but the appearance of the specter aroused no deeper curiosity, and excited no further inquiry. It had appeared to Horatio, man of books, learned scholar, diligent student. In his mind it took its place with similar omens, wonders, prodigies—

strange, perhaps unaccountable things, but all within the realm of nature. To Polonius, worldly wise and practical politician, warped by the duplicities and hollowness of an artificial and conventional life; to Laertes, steeped in the lusts and low ambitions of sensual enjoyment, it did not condescend to reveal itself at all—that were casting pearls before swine. But to Hamlet the vision brought indubitable proof of the existence of the supernatural, not subjective certainty only, but objective as well; it existed, not in his fancy merely, but had a ground of being in the consciousness of others. More than this, the channels of communication between it and us are open. Did this assurance of the supernatural suffice for him? and could he rest with this? The sequel must answer.

This visitant from another sphere had not appeared simply to the eye. He had brought revelations to the mind, had told a harrowing tale of his iniquitous murder—tidings that could not elsewhere have been gathered. These must be tested. For into Hamlet's ear only had they been told; they came to him individually as a private revelation. What guarantee of their truth was there? Upon what grounds of reliability could the statements demand credence? There can never be for any human being an obligation to believe a lie; what is false cannot be made binding by any authority. Hamlet, therefore, devised the scheme of a pantomime, in which the details of the crime should be rehearsed in the sight of the guilty parties thereto, and by its observed effects on them was the revelation to be tested. The experiment was successful. As the terrible sin was unearthed before the eyes of the royal criminals there was needed only to see the convulsive tremors, the blanching lips, the self-convicting flight, to be assured that the ghost had spoken truly and to have unquestionable proof of the correctness of his revelations.

It is not, however, in the realm of intellect that the revelation of the supernatural finds its chief value. If "three fourths of human life is conduct," as Matthew Arnold says, then it must be to guide the moral act rather than to satisfy the inquisitive mind that its supervision is needed. Ethics is higher than dogma, as the end is higher than the means. Knowledge is not of itself and necessarily power. Portia said truly, "If to do were as easy as to know what were good to do, chapels

had been churches, and poor men's cottages princes' palaces." The primary motive for the appearance of the ghost was not to unlock the secrets of the grave, but to lay upon Hamlet a stern duty. He was commanded to avenge his father's death. But in the command itself lay this element of weakness, that no moral law can be authoritative which bases public and common duties on grounds that are individual solely. If Kant's doctrine be true that the first dictum of moral philosophy is, "So act as if thy maxim were a universal law," then the grounds upon which we act must be such as to justify themselves not to the personal part of our conscience only, but to the social as well. It was not possible for Hamlet, as has been said, nor is it for us, to subpoena a ghost at will. And in this lies the ineradicable fallacy which, despite Martineau's eloquent exposition, must vitiate the teaching, "Every man his own Bible." The "seat of authority in religion" cannot be the individual himself. Revelation must be more than instruction or inspiration to the private conscience.

The command, moreover, offended Hamlet's sense of justice. It enjoined the punishment of the guilty king, while it spared the perhaps no less guilty queen. Are, then, the beings above like frail men with human passions, partialities, prejudices? Hamlet felt sure that no command can be obligatory which enjoins unrighteousness. Omnipotence itself cannot make wrong right. Man is so really the image of his Creator that what is absolutely contradictory to the moral sense of one must be so to the other. No augury or miracle could ever compel a pagan to reverence Jove or Hermes, whose notions of social or sexual morality fell below his own. He might deprecate their wrath or propitiate their favor, but love and esteem them he could not. The Judge of all the earth must do right, and that cannot be his will which is not consonant with his character.

Hence, therefore, the assurance of the supernatural did not bring to Hamlet any quieting of doubts, or calm of spirit, or cessation of strife within, or indication of duty, or that coordination of conduct with conscience in which alone lies peace. What could do this? Nothing less than an open, written, public revelation from God—an inspired Bible. And for lack of this he faltered, wavered, doubted, failed, and fell. In this direction lies the lesson of the great drama. It is a commentary,

whether intended or not, unrivaled in its depth and power, upon the words of one infinitely greater than Shakespeare, "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."

We may now compare with the above the interpretations put by others upon the drama. Goethe, the man who since Shakespeare's death has come nearest to him in gifts, saw in it the purpose to depict a great task laid upon a soul able to comprehend it, but unequal to its performance. This is all true, only that Goethe stops short of telling us, as he was fully competent to do, wherein Hamlet's incapacity lay. He leads us to the threshold of the mystery, but refuses to guide us to the shrine. That would have involved self-condemnation.

The trend of modern interpretation is toward that rendering which sees in Hamlet's vacillation an irreconcilable conflict between thought and action, and this is Coleridge's somewhat self-justifying theory. Thought, it is said, widens but weakens; action energizes and narrows. But thought and action are not necessarily exclusive of each other, even when both are exhibited in their highest forms. There have been men in whom were combined peerless power and range of thought with intensest energy and celerity of action. Moses, Paul, Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne, Napoleon were of this stamp, and such men spring to the front as the sovereigns of their race. Thought always precedes effective action and is its most fertile and prolific source. The war songs of Tyrtæus were worth more to the Spartans for inspiration than all the genius for action of their most consummate military leaders. There is the profoundest wisdom in Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

Not on the vulgar mass
Called "work," must sentence pass,
Things done, that took the eye and had the price;
O'er which, from level stand,
The low world laid its hand,
Found straightway to its mind, could value in a trice:

But all, the world's coarse thumb
And finger failed to plumb,
So passed in making up the main account:
All instincts immature,
All purposes unsure,
That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man's amount.

Decision and energy are high, but not the only, virtues; irresolution is not always vice. If so Hamlet would fall below Macbeth, or the jealous fool Othello, or Shylock, or that devil Iago, or even mad Lear, and Caliban would be rated higher than Ferdinand or Prospero himself. There is plenty of motion which is only circular, much exercise which adds nothing to real progress.

Hamlet himself was not lacking in capacity of action. Where duty was plain, where routine had marked out a path, as in the voyage to England and the encounter with the pirates, he was prompt, alert, decided, successful. It was in the high moral realm alone, in questions of large moment vitally affecting conduct and happiness, that he paused. On the low field he easily assumed the precedence which his abilities commanded; in the highest he halted. No lamp of God threw its light about his path, and he questioned, hesitated, failed. But "wisdom is justified of all her children." Better that the imperial eagle should pause on motionless wing in the free mid-heaven, if his keen eye sees no quarry worthy his prowess, than waste his energies in futile swoop. When the light which streams on the shaded avenues of life is entangled in the intercepting foliage, through which it falls only in mottled patches that hide the pitfalls, it is surely wiser to stand irresolute and ask if elsewhere there be no safer road.

But every man must have some philosophy of life, some code by which to measure the discharge of duty. If he does not have or will not take the Bible he must needs try that which seems to him the best. Hamlet's code—perhaps it was Shakespeare's own—was that which he commends in the matchless counsel to the players, an epitome which every public speaker should carefully study, namely, to seek the middle path, avoiding all extremes. It is not the best guide, but it is a good one. On this theory, if one is to shun the excess of the vile and base he must forego the other extreme of the high and noble. He may thereby miss paradise, but at least he escapes purgatory. He fails to hear the softest and sweetest harmonies of the soul, but its harshest discords do not jar upon his ears; and if he loses life's richest prizes, at least he is not cheated by its pinchbeck. This has certainly been the code of some of the world's greatest thinkers. It was that of the author of *Ec-*

clesiastes, with his "be not over much righteous" nor "wicked;" of Confucius, with his doctrine of "the mean;" of Aristotle, with his "nothing to excess;" of Bacon, who says that, "though a man side himself in the rising, it is good to balance himself when placed;" of Talleyrand, with his "above all, no enthusiasm;" of Lessing, who advises artists to "take passion or action not at its acme, either lowest or highest, but in the mean."

The inherent weakness of this code is that it cannot be continuously maintained. It can be available only in the quiet hours of life. And as pauses are few and passions strong, as crises come unexpectedly, and sorrows not as "single spies but in battalions," this philosophy fails in the momentous epochs. Nature always demands and exacts her rights. Passions may be smothered, but they smolder. Suppression here means volcano yonder. The ascetic who eliminates from his nature all pleasure of physical enjoyment simply makes room for intenser pride, fanaticism, and bitterness. Hamlet's code could not endure the strain of actual life. His gushing friendship for Horatio, his ardent love for Ophelia, passing that of "forty thousand brothers," his overwhelming emotions at the revelations of the ghost—these and a hundred other things swept him from his moorings into a seething sea without chart, pilot, or destination.

No code of morals can be complete or final which does not enjoin full and harmonious expansion of all the composite nature of man. Development, not dwarfing, is the law of well-being. It is not by reducing life to its lowest levels, but by directing it to the summits, that perfection comes. We may mourn that Rome did not heed the prudent counsels of Cicero, yet after all the world is richer for Cæsar and Antony; and though the moderation of Erasmus might have saved us some of the evils of four centuries of division, to the mass of mankind either Luther or Leo X will be the idol and hero. We hardly appreciate the service which the Bible has rendered to progress by evolving the strength of human character. The peace, assurance, and light upon duty that come from firm persuasion of its truth leave man's unreserved energies free for work. We know that the anchorage will hold, and are undisturbed whether the winds sweep inshore or seaward. If the soldier is sure that his goods and loved ones are safe within the stronghold he

can march without misgiving to the campaign, and on the day of battle deliver the full weight of his blow.

But Hamlet's code gave him no answer to doubts or guide to duty. He could neither decide what he ought to do nor be satisfied with his indecision. And so the inexorable laws of destiny drove him, equally with his less regal associates and with all his royal powers, over rapids to the awful plunge. The king had taken ambition for his law, and it had failed to quiet his remorse; Polonius had provided against all emergencies by diplomacy only to perish through a blunder; Laertes made honor his ideal, and dishonorably poisoned his rapier; Ophelia sought her ideal in love, and her shattered reason was jangled out of tune by disappointment; Horatio sought his in scholarship, and it could not cure him of his corroding and dissatisfying skepticism. And circumstances over which Hamlet had renounced or lost control carried him whither he would not, and with a cry of despair upon his lips the noble heart cracked and the sweet prince bade good-night to the world.

It has been said that Shakespeare never moralizes. This is not true. Who has ever spoken more impressively of the sanctities of life—of friendship, temperance, love, courage, justice, charity? His delineations of women are the most exquisite ever penned. Murillo's "Immaculate Conception," the most beautiful picture of joyous purity and innocent trust on which the eye can rest in the world of art, is not so entrancing as the portraiture of Miranda and Perdita, of Juliet and Imogen and Cordelia. Who has ever spoken more reverently and tenderly of death? Even Falstaff, glutton, libertine, coward, ribald, knave, does not set behind the clouds without some of the grandeur with which the king of terrors invests all who touch his staff. Says Dame Quickly:

After I saw him fumble with the sheets, and play with flowers, and smile upon his finger ends, I knew there was but one way. . . . So 'a cried out "God, God, God!" three or four times: now I, to comfort him, bid him, 'a should not think of God; I hoped there was no need to trouble himself with any such thoughts yet. So 'a bade me lay more clothes on his feet: I put my hand into the bed, and felt them, and they were as cold as any stone.

But it is true that he never preaches. We wish he had done so. To mark out with buoys the channels of life is by no

means so noble a task as to pilot frail craft safely past the perilous places. The moralities of the here and now do not satisfy human needs. Man is a being of "large discourse, looking before and after;" and on the most momentous questions neither nature nor its great interpreter give guiding light. It is not simply mundane ethics we require, but cosmic and eternal as well.

But the poet has revealed to us his own conception of his task and its scope. It was "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure"—a high ideal, truly; but it is distinctly and confessedly on a plane vastly lower than that of the sacred Scriptures, whose declared purpose is to hold the mirror that "we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," may be "changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." The Bible is not merely a storehouse of information; it is a power for transformation.

If any man wishes proof that our race needs a written revelation, an inspired Bible, he may find convincing evidence in the study of *Hamlet*. No pen, save one to which God has himself communicated the fire of life, has delineated a loftier character. In *Hamlet* was found every essential to success except the possession of such a revelation, and the lack of this led to failure. How different might have been his fate had he been able to say with Paracelsus:

If I stoop into a tremendous sea of cloud
It is but for a time: I press God's lamp
Close to my breast; its splendor soon or late
Will pierce the gloom: I shall emerge some day!

A. H. Ames

ART. IV.—THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE PASSIONS.

GRACE is equal to its every task. It is as infinite in capability and adaptability as God, from whom its energies proceed; yet how imperfect its effects all know who have profoundly studied Christian character. The reason is plain. Never until there is given him an instrument equal to his genius can the musician exhibit his full power. The problem of sanctification is the problem of taking that ruined instrument, the human soul, of putting it into the best possible repair, and of rendering it capable of its highest effects. It is the instrument we are to study, not the skill of the workman who constructs it, nor of the artist who employs it for the expression of his thought.

One of the principal sources of disharmony in human nature is the passions. The vast majority of Christians experience their chief difficulty in the control of the feelings. However we may conceive the relation of intelligence and sensibility, we must admit that only when thought is tinged with emotion are we conscious of approbation or of guilt. Pure intellectuality is morally colorless. But the thought cast up from the heaving ocean of feeling brings with it the odor of the emotion which tossed it upon the shore of consciousness. Passion is character. Or, more properly, the passions, in their interpenetrations and mutual balancings, distinguish the character of the individual. This gives the passions a place among the deepest elements of our being. They are to character what the mountain ranges are to a continent. They determine its fertility, its wealth, the direction and volume of its rivers, and give form to the surface of the land.

Popularly considered, the passions are the more sudden and violent ebullitions of feeling. He is passionate whose temperament leads him to sudden outbursts of anger or other emotions. To the passionate man, therefore, we ordinarily attribute but little of constancy and but a shallow depth of feeling. But it is doubtful whether these phenomena of the emotional nature, however striking, are worthy the name of passion. Kant, following Wolff, denominated every such exhibition of emotion an affection (*affekt*), and distinguished sharply between these and the passions which lie deeper and have more of intelligence

in them.* According to this distinction anger is an affection, but hate is a passion. It is perfectly evident that anger is thoughtless, while hate may be under the dominion of the intelligence. Anger evinces, at least in some measure, a lack of self-control. Hate is deliberate. It may be restrained or it may be gratified, as best suited to its purposes. Anger may be called a weakness. Hate is an evidence of sustained power. Anger may indicate no essential malevolence of disposition; it must be excited by external conditions. Hate is inherent in the soul, and will influence the soul even when there is no outward occasion for it. Anger proves the mobility of the feelings, and is often mere excitement accompanied by a minimum of resentment. Hate may maintain an outward and inward calm, and show itself only when it has had time to study how to strike the most fatal blow. A similar contrast might be drawn between many other emotions, although there are passions without any corresponding affections, and affections without any corresponding passions. It is of the nature of passion, however, that it may manifest itself when conditions are favorable in the most violent emotions. There is no anger so dreadful as that which derives its energy from some deep passion. He who hates his enemy may also be provoked to anger by him. Under such circumstances the ebullition of feeling is strengthened by the fundamental disposition of hate. A like terror of anger, however, may be supported by a benevolent as well as a malevolent emotion. The patriot may become furiously angry upon hearing of some unexpected act of treachery, being moved thereto solely by his love of country, and without any of the passion of hate. The affection robs of strength, the passion impels and incites to action. The former is never a motive, the latter always.

We may add that in essence what we here call passion includes also appetites and propensities. Hence the passions are both physical (appetites) and spiritual (propensities). Where the appetites and propensities combine, there passion is strongest. The natural and innocent desire for food in combination

* *Anthropologie*, Edition Kirchmann, p. 164. The difference between an "affection" in this sense of the word and an affection considered as a feeling of attachment, or a kindly emotion, must be carefully noted. See also Wundt, *Physiologische Psychologie*, vol. ii, p. 410.

with the propensity to self-indulgence causes gluttony. An affection may develop a passion if often indulged. The first effect of wine may be a pleasing sensation of taste, resulting in a mere affection. The desire for a repetition of this sensation may lead to frequent indulgence, whereby an artificial appetite or craving for wine is produced. So one who has never known hate may by frequent indulgence in anger develop the passion of hate. But this very fact proves that the passions and affections contain elements in common. Therefore, and also for the sake of comprehensiveness, we shall include under passion every form of emotion of which a description has now been given.

Strictly speaking, we should be obliged to use the term sanctification only in connection with those passions which God can approve; for sanctification looks toward employment, and the evil passions cannot be employed in God's service. But, yielding to the popular use, we shall employ the word here in its accustomed ambiguous sense, trusting to the *caveat* we have now entered to prevent misunderstanding. But are there any evil passions? Bishop Foster replies as follows:

It is not the office of grace to eradicate human passions. There is nothing in them, when existing in a normal state, of the nature of sin. They were at first planted in the holy pair. They will remain in humanity while the earthly life remains. Holiness requires their proper subjugation and use. They are in their nature physical, and wholly void of moral character except as they become instruments of righteousness or unrighteousness.

Again, the Bishop says:

Evil dispositions and propensities are but perverted forms of good ones; and hence holiness or sanctification consists not in the eradication of them, but in the restoration of them to their legitimate character and use.*

The former quotation seems to have exclusive reference to what we have here called appetites. And so far what he says is probably wholly true. There certainly can be no harm in indulging the appetite for food merely because indulgence is strongly agreeable. It is not necessary to make our food and drink as unpalatable as possible, lest a sensuous enjoyment should be experienced. Were this avoidance of sensuous en-

* *Christian Purity*, pp. 68, 74.

joyment carried into the domain of all the senses it would lead us beyond the most extreme position which asceticism ever held concerning the permissibility of pleasure. The eye enjoys light and color and the ear musical sound, and the enjoyment is alike sensuous in each case. It cannot be sin to get satisfaction from our bodily appetites, since God has made them capable of enjoyment, has provided the means for their gratification, and has even made our very welfare and mental and moral development dependent, at least in some measure, upon their exercise.* Even that view which limits the innocence of indulgence to the end for which God appointed them is to be considered as extreme. It may be innocent to gratify the palate at other times than when taking food for nourishment. But if the pleasures of the palate lead us to overload our system, or to deplete our purses unduly, or to neglect the comfort of our dependents, indulgence would at once become wrong. Of some of the bodily appetites it must even be said that they seem to have no object but the gratification of their possessors. This is true of the craving for harmony and melody, for variety in color and form. With many these are as truly a passion as the appetite for food. It may be said that these minister to the cultivation of the æsthetic nature, while the so-called baser appetites only degrade. But the indulgence of the baser appetites does not degrade, but rather ennoble, if enjoyed in proper degree and with suitable restrictions. The æsthetic cravings, on the other hand, may and often do lead to effeminacy and voluptuousness. Music, painting, and sculpture may minister to the soul, or they may be mere instruments of sensuous pleasure. The physical passions are only sinful when they are overindulged or so indulged as to militate against the soul, which, it must be sadly confessed, is very frequently done.

With regard to the passions of the soul the case is different. All of the bodily passions minister to both soul and body if properly indulged. But of some at least of the spiritual passions must it be said that they have no function in the preservation or improvement of self, or in benefit to others, but work only injury wherever and in whatever degree they are manifest. What good did hate ever do? In the proper

* Bain, *Mental Science*, pp. 75, 77, well states the relation of pleasure to the increased activity of the vital functions.

sense of the word it is not a divine passion ; for, although God hates sin, there is no malevolence in his hatred, but at most aversion. Yet malice is one of the chief ingredients in the human passion of hate. Indignation, a stern sense of justice, and similar emotions, all of which commend themselves in the exhibition, are wholly distinct and separate from the passion of hate, and indeed could scarcely exist where it exists. Anger may or may not coexist with it ; but the proper exercise of the nobler passions is wholly out of the question in connection with an emotion so malevolent. Did any good ever come out of envy, or jealousy, or covetousness ? They are not perversions of good passions. However it may be with others, these do not appear first in the form of virtues, which by some weakness or accident may be carried far enough to become vices. They are spiritual diseases, deformities of the soul. They are not to be transformed but supplanted. Neither they, their progenitors, nor their progeny have any place in the holy soul.

From the position now attained we may be able to discover the relation of the passions to the self. Does the "ego" include everything belonging to our inner conduct ? Are the appetites, propensities, passions, and affections all constituent elements of ourselves ? With regard to the first three we may answer unqualifiedly in the affirmative. They are in no sense external to us, but inherent in us. Without them our characters would not be what they are. Although up to a certain point in the knowledge of self their existence is often entirely unobserved and even unsuspected, yet they have determined our acts and, in part, at least, our thoughts. Whether good or bad they lie below the surface of consciousness, not, indeed, idle and inoperative, but all the more effective because they are not known to their possessor, and hence not guarded against. If the time arrives in the spiritual education of the individual when he discovers himself controlled by evil passions he must correct his own nature if he can. Then arises a conflict between the "ego" of choice and the "ego" of nature (heredity and education). Under such circumstances we discover within us two selves. But the will refuses to abdicate though every province in its rightful realm be in rebellion. The ruler insists that he is not responsible for the conduct of his perverse subjects. If one has risen to the Christian standpoint he cries out, "It is no

more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me." But the natural unit disputes the claim of the volitional unit to supremacy, and the latter is never content until the two units coincide. But this can never guiltlessly take place until the former is brought into perfect harmony with the latter, for the latter dare not give way. The relation of the affections to the "ego" is different from that of the passions, in so far as the former are not the mere expression of the latter. They are transient rather than constant, and are awakened by external conditions. Were it not that the historical associations of these terms might mislead we should designate the passions as substance and the affections as accident. The former are inherent in character, the latter lie in the realm of conduct. It is true that the affections are expressions of character elements; but these elements are often negative rather than positive, defects rather than vices; and in any case it is the sources from which they spring, and not the affections themselves, which belong to the "ego." They show weakness in the character, and hence the need of correction, but in a manner wholly different from the passions.

The necessity of the sanctification of the passions follows from their nature and from their relation to the self; but it is also indicated by two special facts. The first is that they often lead us into fatal self-deception. To the general recognition of this fact witness is borne by the proverbs, "The wish is father to the thought;" "There are none so blind as those who will not see;" and, "Convince a man against his will, and he is of the same opinion still." An illustration is found in Esau, whose appetite was so roused that he sought for reasons to justify him in selling his birthright. Because of our passions we play the sophist with ourselves, and extenuate deeds we should otherwise condemn. The judgment acts in the interest of the passions. This frame of mind when habitual unfits us for all judicial, dispassionate consideration of the practical concerns of life. When viewed apart from ethics we call it prejudice. Where morals are concerned we term it perversion. Under such circumstances is it that men learn to destroy the vital general distinctions of right and wrong, and in specific instances to call evil good. It is a peculiarly subtle and dangerous, because a semiunconscious, form of hypocrisy. This is sufficiently subversive of good morals; but far less so

than the second fact, namely, the power of the passions to bewilder and silence the conscience and understanding. In such cases reflection upon the moral quality of the act is suspended. The mind is wholly taken up with the impulse toward performance. So far as the intellect is at all engaged its function is merely to plan for execution. If at such times we can be hindered from acting long enough to come to ourselves we may be saved much sorrow. It is probable that, in the betrayal of our Lord, Judas Iscariot was thus controlled by passion; for when he reflected he would neither justify his act nor retain the price of blood. In most instances, as with Judas, reflection first begins after the passion has found gratification. In this respect the passions and affections are alike. For the time emotion almost wholly displaces thought, and we are in a transport of feeling.

We pursue now more closely the psychological processes of sanctification. And one of the most important facts to be noted here is the necessity of entire consecration, especially of its positive side of concentration. The will is so constituted that it can never act with energy and effect along more than one line at a time. "He that wavereth is like a wave of the sea." In order to concentration there must be a powerful attraction—something which will fix and hold the attention. On the psychological side the whole problem of the sanctification of the passions and affections is how to get the attention drawn away from them to Jesus Christ the Saviour. In order to this the Holy Spirit is necessary and sufficient. "The love of God is shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost which is given unto us." By a supernatural operation the soul is so affected that the passions no longer assert themselves. Such as are in themselves innocent, but needing restriction, however imperious they may formerly have been in their demands, are brought into easy subjection. Those which are evil, and over which we have long mourned, no more make themselves felt; and the uncontrollable, sinful emotions which we here call affections are no longer experienced. But the psychological explanation of it all is that we cease to look at self and look unto Jesus. And it is most necessary to insist upon this. As compared with that condition in which our evil passions are unrecognized by us because no conflict between them and

conscience has ever arisen, a marked advance in the right direction is that state of the mind in which the attention is strongly concentrated upon their sinfulness and the whole energy of the soul is directed toward their suppression. Every such awakening is the prophecy of a possible advance in holiness. But the experience of vain endeavor to suppress or displace these unholy emotions by our own effort is perfectly explicable. The very attention we bestow upon them contributes to their nourishment. The "law" which betrays our wickedness to us becomes thereby the minister of death. We find the power of evil greater after it appears as evil than before. Beyond a certain point, therefore, what is needed is not a larger development of the self-consciousness of evil within, but a complete withdrawal of the attention from it. But such a withdrawal of attention is not enough. This might be effected in such a way as to leave the passions essentially as they were before the awakening. Fear of the power of inward sin must give place to confidence in the greater power of God. For the rest, it is a divine work, wrought we know not how. Here human effort and divine energy coalesce in a union whose elements are no longer distinguishable. But the result is that the soul, which has been led by grace to this point, finds the conscious evil passions gone and the divine Spirit within. It may be said to be an instantaneous work. It certainly is a complete work so far as it goes. We are, in a sense, as though these passions had never existed within us. Nor are we of those who believe that they are still present but only dormant. A passion is an energy of our being directed toward a certain object by the forces which control us. When the controlling forces change the passions must change. In whatever portion of the soul God is the controlling force, there sin must give way to holiness.

If it be objected that this cannot be, since whenever one backslides after reclamation from any appetite or passion he falls back again at once into his old fault, we reply that this is to be otherwise accounted for. Peter, the profane and impulsive fisherman, when he fell from grace after conversion, showed that the old habits still possessed him. The reformed and converted, and even wholly sanctified, victim of drink will go back to his cups if he fall from grace; and the former debauchee

will return to his licentiousness. The spiritual propensities also show the same tendency to recurrence in those who have fallen from grace. But we have here merely the question of the explanation of the phenomena. This cannot be better made than on the supposition that the passions are only suppressed, not really displaced. Let us remember that a passion is an energy of the soul projected in a given direction by the controlling force within us. Let us suppose now that, instead of self or Satan, God becomes our controlling force. The passion disappears. We fall from grace and it reappears. By the very terms of the supposition the new, divine controlling force is gone. What more natural than that the old one should immediately reassert its supremacy? In this event the old passion would be almost certain to reappear; for grace does not change the potentialities of the soul; nor does it reconstruct, except by slow processes, its constitution. This remains the same, modifying the operations of grace and explaining why it is that not all Christians are exactly alike, but varied in their manifestations of divine principle within. A constitutional passion is not a passion which forms part of the constitution of the individual; for the constitution is the sum total of the capabilities, and these lie deeper than the passions which the capabilities produce under given conditions. Nevertheless, there is a relation between the constitution and the passions, some constitutions being more perfectly adapted to some passions than others. Hence, a constitutional passion is the one which is most easily and naturally produced by the capabilities of the soul. But a capability is only a capability, not an actuality. And if influences of different character operate in succession upon the soul the same aggregate of capabilities we will have a succession of results correspondent thereto. Hence it is that people are so often a surprise to themselves and to their most intimate friends. The untried soul can never predict what it will do under given conditions.

Does this seem to make the soul the prey of every external influence? Let it be replied that such would be the case were there not other laws operating to prevent this in some measure. The soul has the power of self-direction, at least within certain limits. But especially must we remember that impalpable but powerful influences acting upon us give us a certain direc-

tion often very decidedly emphasized long before we have reached the period when we are intellectually capable of discovering, accepting, or rejecting them. These are partly hereditary and prenatal, and partly such as are exercised upon us in our earliest years. As soon as we begin to be, action and reaction between the innate forces and possibilities of the soul and our environment begin. Arrived at the age when we become conscious personalities, we are still too young to do aught but enter upon the employment of our inheritance. It is only in later years that we begin in good earnest to adopt an ideal of life and compare ourselves therewith. By this time the tendencies of the soul are well established. When we open the soul, then, to new influences they have at first little power. This, together with the fact that we have a certain power of choice as to what new influences shall be allowed access to us, prevents the total annihilation of our identity. It is the perfection of this power of choice which constitutes the perfect freedom of the soul. He is not free who is involuntarily governed by what he inherited from the past; nor is he free who is so governed by the chance external influence of the hour. He is free who, with educated conscience and clarified reason, bows with the full conscious consent of his soul to the authority of God.

This seems to make man subject in order to be free, and to unsettle the firmest inward supports of conduct. It must be said in reply to this that if all men were absolutely free from every allegiance the result would be anarchy. Allegiance to Satan would result in bondage to passion again. Subjection to the world would produce a similar result. God only can rule a kingdom of freemen. Under God's government alone is the paradox of freedom in subjection abolished. As to the other difficulty, it is a question, after all, as to what is highest in character. It is a dream of the evolutionists that a time will come when every man's "spontaneous activities" shall be "congruous with the conditions imposed by the social environment formed by other such beings."

Conformably with the laws of evolution in general, and conformably with the laws of organization in particular, there has been and is in progress an adaptation of humanity to the social state, changing it in the direction of such an ideal congruity. . . .

The ultimate man is one in whom this process has gone so far as to produce a correspondence between all the promptings of his nature and all the requirements of his life as carried on in society. . . . In the conduct of the ideal man among ideal men that self-regulation which has for its motive to avoid giving pain practically disappears. No one having feelings which prompt acts that disagreeably affect others, there can exist no code of restraints referring to this division of conduct.*

Exactly such a state as this, so far as results are concerned, but with added accompaniments of blessedness, is the heaven of the Christian system. In heaven we can conceive of no clashing of interests, but only of perfect harmony. But if we correctly understand Mr. Spencer the methods by which this state is to be brought about are very different, in his conception, from those proposed by Christianity. We do not here refer to the forces employed, for it is evident that in this respect evolution and grace are radically different. But Mr. Spencer seems to refer the whole conduct of the ideal man to the promptings of his nature. The processes of evolution will have brought about in the ultimate man "a correspondence between all the promptings of his nature and all the requirements of his life as carried on in society." In that state no one will have "feelings which can prompt acts that disagreeably affect others," and hence "that self-regulation which has for its motive to avoid giving pain practically disappears." Such language undoubtedly indicates a condition in which the "spontaneous activities" of men will be right. They will do right because their feelings are right. In such persons there are no evil passions, and the good ones will have control of the life. "Self-regulation" will not be a necessity. Conduct will be unerringly right because the moving forces are unerringly right. This system appears at first sight as the most perfect conceivable. But look at it. It makes man a moral automaton. The clock provided with a compensation balance keeps perfect time because it is provided with perfect machinery. Neither Spencer's ideal man nor the clock needs any conscious self-regulation; both are perfectly adjusted to their conditions, and hence both will act with perfect precision. For the clock this may suffice, but for man it is not enough. Reason and will must always have their place in Christian con-

* Spencer, *Data of Ethics*, pp. 275, 286.

duct. Reason, passion, and volition must all be in harmony with each other and with God. And this is the state in which all will find themselves who enter heaven. It is not sufficient that reason know the right and the will enforce it. Better this than bad conduct. But a life conformed by volition to the demands of reason has in it a rigidity which is extremely displeasing as compared with the spontaneity of correct instincts. Such a life is full of conventionalities. It lacks grace and beauty, and there can be no wonder that so many men of faultless lives are therefore so unattractive. The perfect Christian ideal is that in which the individual has attained substantially the same emotional character with God; in which his judgments coincide with those of God; and in which his will is not swallowed up, but has become identical with his will—God's volitions man's volitions; not perforce, but by choice, emotion and reason completely concurring. This preserves to man his distinct identity, leaves him in the full responsible possession of the powers which conform him to the divine image, makes him morally like God by his own choice, and removes him from the category of the automata. Great as their influence is, therefore, we cannot believe that the passions sanctified would make the perfect man; for man is larger than his entire emotional nature.

Yet it must be confessed that were the evil passions displaced and the good ones devoted to their divinely appointed purposes, man would be incalculably holier than he now is. That this end may be attained we must despise no means within our reach. If the best time to begin a child's education is two hundred years before he is born, how much more true is it of the sanctification of the passions. God has so ordained that the strongest passions are those which are inborn. So far as they are bad they are most difficult of repression and displacement. So far as they are good they are most reliable and constant. Next to these, in respect to constancy and strength, are those which have been inwrought by early and long-continued education. Subsequent to the prenatal period, the best time for the sanctification of the passions is in infancy. Even the gracious virtues are not to be depended upon like those which are natural. The strongest characters are those whose passions, being inborn, have been developed by training and ennobled by

grace. But for the adult whose natural inheritance and education have placed him within the power of evil dispositions grace is yet sufficient. The holy emotions implanted by the divine Spirit may be as yet rather affections than passions, but by long-continued submission to the influences of heaven they will become thoroughly intrenched in the soul. What is needed meanwhile is that God should continue more inviting to the soul than all attractions beside. There is no propensity too powerful for grace to correct. Except for the limitations of our finite nature there is no conceivable perfection to which, by grace, the most depraved may not in time arise. But for such results it is needful that, like the chosen three on the mount of transfiguration, our eyes should henceforth see Jesus only. Here faith and consecration become coincident conceptions; and it is under such conditions that Jesus is made unto us "wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

Charles W. Rishell.

ART. V.—WHEELS, WORK, AND WAGES.

THE nineteenth century is on wheels and traveling with a speed never known before in history. It is literally and metaphorically the age of machinery. Nearly all the mechanical inventions and discoveries which are doing the world's work to-day are less than a century old. So rapidly have these inventions and discoveries succeeded each other that the transition from manual labor to machinery has taken place almost without our consciousness. Within the present century the entire coal industry of this continent has been developed, with the resulting multitudinous changes in mechanical, commercial, and domestic affairs. Yet, although the discovery of coal for fuel and illumination is of so recent date, we are already leaving the original discoveries as things of the past and are moving forward to new and better applications of this force. Crude coal will soon be discarded as fuel except under the engine boiler and the ovens of the gas works, and gas will take its place everywhere for fuel, while electricity will supersede gas for illuminating purposes.

This utilization of coal has revolutionized all travel, commerce, and manufacture, and has introduced a new civilization. Steam had been known and used to a limited extent before, but it only put on the harness for earnest work when coal was put under the boiler. The first successful steamboat ever built was the one by Robert Fulton, in 1807, which ran between New York and Albany; and the first steamships which ever crossed the ocean were the *Sirius* and *Great Western*, in 1838. The first locomotive engine was built in 1804, and the first railroad, from Manchester to Liverpool, in 1830. The oldest steam railroad in the United States was from Charleston to Hamburg, S. C., which was completed in 1833. Within three quarters of a century the old stagecoach and heavy teams have disappeared from the turnpike and the old sailing vessel from the ocean, except along the coast; and railroads network the land from shore to shore, while lines of fast steamships churn the sea into foam. A century ago great cities could be built only upon deep bays on the coast or at the head of navigation on large rivers, because then all heavy commerce had to be carried on by water.

Then cities like Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis, Columbus, and Atlanta would have been impossible. Now cities spring out of the earth as if by magic wherever agricultural or mineral wealth invites population. Then factories of all kinds had to be built not only near a seaport for the shipment of their products, but also in the valley upon a stream, because water was the only power by which they could be run. Now we build the mill and the factory on the prairie, on the mountain top, or wherever the material to be manufactured abounds. Not only do we travel and trade by machinery, but meanwhile we have learned to write and talk by machinery also. Who realizes that the telegraph is not yet fifty years old? The first telegraph in use was between Washington and Baltimore, in 1844. In 1858 the Atlantic cable was successfully laid, while within the recollection of all the telephone has been invented and utilized, so that to-day the near and the far stand face to face and the world is one vast whispering gallery.

Steam and electricity made possible a wider circulation of the printed page, and at once supply answered demand in new and marvelous machinery for this. The Columbian press, invented by George Clymer, of Philadelphia, and still in use for fine printing, made its appearance in 1818, but this was a hand press. Frederick König, of Saxony, was the first to construct a cylinder machine to run by steam, in 1814. By it eleven hundred impressions could be made per hour, while with Clymer's press only two hundred and fifty impressions per hour could be taken. In 1827 Messrs. Applegath & Cowper constructed a machine in which the type was set upon the surface of a cylinder instead of a plane surface, and this marks the new era in printing. Almost immediately Hoe's cylindrical press appeared in New York. The inventive genius, first of the father and then of the son, added one improvement after another until Hoe's eight and ten cylinder presses of almost absolute perfection completed the series. Were Franklin placed to-day in a great newspaper printing office he would find wheels everywhere, and iron hands doing all the work. Machinery sets the type and inks it; machinery supplies the paper and prints it; machinery cuts off the sheet and folds it; and the result is a quarter of a million papers per day, each a large volume in itself.

Clocks and watches had for ages been employed to mark the flight of time, but no one dreamed that they could be made by machinery. In 1807 a Mr. Terry, of Connecticut, commenced making wooden clocks by machinery. Not long thereafter brass was substituted for wood. About 1838 Chauncey Jerome, of Connecticut, commenced to manufacture one-day brass clocks made entirely by machinery. In 1842 he sent a consignment to England, and since then millions of them have crossed the ocean and ticked off the time in all quarters of the globe. Not, however, until 1850 did any one think that so delicate an instrument as a watch could be made by machinery. Dennison and Howard in that year ventured to make fifty eight-day watches, at Roxbury, Mass. The experiment was a failure, but it was followed by other experiments upon thirty-hour watches, which succeeded. In a few years the machine-made watches had captured the market, and the Swiss and English handmade watches were superseded.

Weaving is an art as old as civilization; but the looms of the ancients were very simple contrivances in which the treadles were worked by the feet and the shuttles were thrown by the hand of the weaver. The Cartwright power loom of 1787, though inaugurating a new era in weaving, was a clumsy thing. Not until the beginning of this century did the power loom take the place of the old hand loom. It was George Crompton who invented the fancy loom in 1837 which has revolutionized weaving. With this marvelous machine, in which machinery winds the bobbins, lifts the warp, and throws the shuttles, the weaver has little to do but stand and supervise the work while iron hands and fingers execute patterns of rare artistic merit.

Husbandry is no longer carried on by manual labor. The sickle, which had been used from the most remote antiquity for reaping, gradually gave way to the mowing and cradling scythes of modern times. In 1826 Rev. Patrick Bell, of Scotland, invented a reaper which is still in use, and is the original from which all subsequent ones have been copied. Notwithstanding the success of this machine, so great was the opposition to its employment by the laboring classes that it fell into disuse. A couple of inventions in this country early in the century met with a similar fate. It was not until 1833 that Obed Hussey patented his reaper, which has nearly supplanted

all others, both in America and England, and which is particularly known as the McCormick Reaper. Along with the machine reaper came the threshing machine, harnessed to steam and mounted upon wheels, and made portable. The farmer once walked behind the plow and carried the bag of grain around his neck as he walked over the field sowing his seed. Within the last half century he has learned to sit upon the plow which turns the furrow, and to ride upon the "drill" which plants his grain. The needlework of other days has been supplanted by that of the sewing machine of our times. As late as 1841 Elias Howe patented the first sewing machine, which to-day is sewing not only garments, but shoes, harness, sails, and upholstery of every sort. And what shall I more say? For the time would fail me to tell of the machinery which presses bricks, grooves and planes boards, and even carries the hod to the top of the building; of the machinery that measures grain and grinds flour and kneads bread; of machines which dig railroads and canals, build ships, cars, and wagons, and even break stones for the turnpike; and last, but not least, of the untold machinery for working metal, producing almost every conceivable article from a pin to the shaft of a steamboat. Of all the ages into which history may be divided the nineteenth century is preeminently the age of machinery; and of all the countries in the world the United States is the land of wheels.

Not only are this age and country on literal wheels, but they are run by metaphorical machinery as well. Combinations among men for political, commercial, and mechanical ends are not new, but as old as civilization; yet it remains for our day and country to witness these combinations upon a scale more gigantic than was ever dreamed of before. Indeed, until the discovery of steam and the telegraph men separated by wide distances could not cooperate effectively. Now continents and oceans interpose no barrier, and combinations which girdle the globe can easily be formed and worked; and already the little wheels which heretofore turned independently, each in its limited locality, are being geared together into vast machines whose power makes all the land to tremble. Personal independence and individual influence are swallowed up and lost in corporate power and action. Perhaps this obliteration of the

individual is nowhere seen to better advantage than in the army. It used to be that victories were won by the personal bravery and prowess of the individual soldier. To-day the fighting is done by machinery, and the army itself is resolved into a machine. In politics platforms are constructed, the press is subsidized, and opinions are manufactured for the people. An independent candidate stands little chance of election. Even when the party lash becomes unendurable, and men in consequence bolt the caucus and inaugurate independent action, they simply substitute one machine for another. Some concert of action is necessary to success, and perhaps political organizations are inevitable. We only note the fact of the machine in politics without stopping to condemn or approve. In commerce and manufactures great combinations are being formed by which each separate establishment becomes a wheel within a wheel. Syndicates, corporations, and trusts are organized to crush out all competition, to control production and prices, and thus monopolize the market. So gigantic have these combinations become in our day that they trample all opposition under foot, defy the law, corrupt legislatures and Congress, and terrorize judges and juries. So vast is the capital invested in these corporations that small merchants and manufacturers stand no chance in competition. There seems to be nothing to limit such combinations to a single country. With the Atlantic cable binding the two hemispheres together, no reason is apparent why the manufacturers and merchants of the civilized globe may not combine to control the output and the price of every human product, and thus monopolize the markets of the world.

Corresponding with these combinations of capital, the independent laborer is rapidly being absorbed by great labor organizations. Mechanical guilds have existed for centuries in England and in continental Europe, but at first they were little more than local beneficial societies. To-day almost every industry has its laborers organized into an association which covers the continent, and these in turn are only wheels in another great machine which includes the knights of all labor. These organizations propose to control the number of apprentices admitted to each trade, the men to be employed by each establishment, the wages to be paid each employee, and the number of hours constituting a day's work. They do this by

strikes, by boycotts, by intimidating employers on the one hand and nonunion men on the other, and sometimes by bloodshed and the wholesale destruction of property. The effect of all such combinations is to obliterate the individual by burying him in the mass. One man may be a much better mechanic than another, but his superior skill avails him little. If he be a member of a labor organization he gets the common wage fixed for that craft, and if he remain outside the organization he cannot get employment.

Even the Church forms no exception to the rule. We have societies for foreign missions, for woman's foreign missions, for home missions; for general church extension and local church extension; for Conference education and general education; for Bible distribution and tract distribution; for the old folks' home, the orphanage, and the hospital; for temperance and "social purity;" and also King's Daughters, Epworth Leagues, and Christian Endeavor societies, with a host of others. Nothing more can be done by the individual. If he would give a loaf of bread to a starving family or a pair of shoes to a bare-footed child he must join a society and sign its constitution. Even the various denominations are coming closer together, and are federating for combined action for the conquest of the world.

But the introduction of machinery into all branches of industry and the combination of capital and labor in vast organizations have necessarily wrought a revolution in all kinds of work, and have changed the relations subsisting between capital and labor, between employer and employee. With every mechanical invention large numbers of people find their trades obsolete and their occupations gone. While the manufacture of these machines opens up new fields of labor, and gives employment to large numbers of mechanics, in all cases the introduction of machinery renders the old trade comparatively useless and necessitates the learning of a new one.

Then, again, the trades are divided into various branches, and each mechanic learns only one branch. It is said that there is not a man in all England who can make a gun. One makes the stock, another the barrel, and still another the lock. Even these branches are subdivided again and again. One saws the

stock out, another carves it, and still another polishes and paints it. One welds the barrel, another bores it, and still another finishes it. One makes the spring of the lock, another the tumbler, another the hammer, and still another the trigger; while the putting of these parts together is a department distinct from all the rest. The same division of labor is apparent everywhere in this country. The old trades of half a century ago no longer exist. A house carpenter of the olden stamp had to score and hew the timbers for the frame, to groove and plane the boards, to make doors, shutters, and sash, to saw scrolls, rive shingles, and to be architect as well. Now the trade is divided into a dozen branches, and the carpenter needs to learn little more than how to put together the parts, which come to him from the mills, according to the plans which are furnished him. It takes a dozen workers in wood to build a frame house to-day. Each specialist may be a more skilled workman in his department, and the result may be a better building at a smaller cost, but no one of them knows an independent trade. Moreover, he has not acquired skill in handicraft so much as acquaintance with machinery. He is no longer a mechanic, but an operative. The machine does the work and he feeds and runs it. As the mechanic is powerless without tools, so he is dependent upon his machine and is inseparable from it. The inevitable result is to tie the man to a machine, and since each of these does the work only of part of a trade a large number must be bound together in cooperation. This means a factory or mill requiring large capital, in which men are mere operatives, dependent upon their employer.

All machinery, in order to find employment, must be labor-saving; that is, it must accomplish more work of the same kind, and at the same cost, than could be done by hand. It follows either that fewer men must be employed or there must be greater production. If one man with a machine can produce as much as three men working by hand, then either two men must be thrown out of employment or the output must be trebled. One of the men might find employment in the manufacture of the machines, but the other is doomed to idleness, unless production is doubled. If production can be doubled at the same cost, then each man can buy twice as much for his wages, and hence consumption can be doubled. All such

machinery would be an unmixed blessing to labor if there was a market for all the product. But where all had the necessities of life before, this additional amount must be made up of luxuries. While all could double their consumption, all do not and will not, and hence there is overproduction and a glut in the market. When men cannot be induced to purchase the only remedy is to limit production—by shutting down the mills, by running on half time, or by the discharge of some of the operatives. Capital can do without the luxuries of life, and hence can dispense with one half of labor, and live on what it did before the introduction of machinery; but labor cannot go back to its old-time trades and find employment there. The supply of labor is in excess of the demand, and the laborer, therefore, in the power of the capitalist. If we regard all the labor of the country, together with the machinery and the capital engaged in production, as a unity, it is easy to see that society at large will be benefited by the introduction of labor-saving machinery to the extent that production is increased. If the country can produce twice as much at the same cost it has twice as much remuneration for its work. It does not matter whether we double wages and profits, leaving prices the same, or whether we reduce prices by one half and leave wages and profits the same as before. In either case the labor and capital of the country, considered jointly, reap a double harvest. When, however, we consider capital and labor as competitors with each other, and capitalists and laborers as competing among themselves for the lion's share of the profits, we find that the distribution of this increased wealth becomes very unequal. The moment supply exceeds the demand some capital must remain idle and some labor must be unemployed. It does not matter how high wages are to the laborer who has no work, nor how low prices are to the man who has no money; without work he gets no wages, and without wages he gets no bread. Horace Greeley once saw a Swiss peasant cutting grain with a sickle, and said to him, "My dear sir, why don't you get a cradling scythe? You could cut four times as much grain with it." "Well," responded the peasant, "I have not four times as much grain to cut." The peasant was a better political economist than the great New York editor. Before the introduction of machinery all labor was

required to supply the demand, and hence no laborer needed to be unemployed. Since machinery multiplies production labor is in excess of the demand, and some must, therefore, stand in the market place all the day idle. To avoid a glut in the market capital combines to limit production. To avoid a glut in the labor market laborers strike for fewer hours as a day's work. They used to work twelve hours a day; now they demand that eight hours shall be the limit. Both movements acknowledge a capacity for and a tendency toward overproduction; and wherever such capacity exists, there labor must suffer for want of employment.

It is not true in an absolute sense that since the introduction of machinery the poor become poorer, while the rich become richer. The laboring classes are better off to-day than ever before. Their labor, coupled with machinery, produces vastly more than formerly, and the purchasing power of their wage is in consequence greater. Notwithstanding they work fewer hours per day, and are not constantly employed, still the poor man's home has many comforts and conveniences which were sadly wanting at the beginning of the century. The truth is that all have become richer, and the poor man has shared in the general wealth. But while the laborer has not absolutely become poorer he has relatively. Riches and poverty are largely relative terms. In general, to be rich is to have more than one's neighbors, and to be poor is to have less. A man with twenty-five thousand dollars in a remote country village is a person of wealth, while in New York city nothing short of five millions will admit him to the circle of the rich. In the large cities a man who can make only ten dollars per week is pitifully poor, while in the country he would be comfortable on five hundred a year. It is not, therefore, any definite amount of money in itself which makes a man either rich or poor, nor yet the purchasing power of such amount of money, but the amount of money which he has as compared with that of other people around him. Our natural wants are few, while our conventional wants are many. We wish to live as other people do; when we cannot do this we are poor by comparison, and our poverty is measured by the disproportion between what we have and what others possess. Estimated in this way the laboring classes are poorer than they were at the

beginning of the century. They earn more wages, can purchase more with them, and in consequence enjoy many comforts to which they were formerly strangers; yet the distance between them and their employers grows wider and wider all the time. While machinery has multiplied the production of the country, and while labor has received a share of this increased wealth, capital has taken half a dozen shares.

But great as is the distance between employer and employee in point of wealth the distance in social position is greater still. It used to be that master and man worked side by side at the same bench, ate together at the table and sat side by side in the pew. They visited each other upon terms of equality, and their families intermarried. There were no great corporations or gigantic firms or princely merchants then, employing men by the hundred. The manufacturer had his little mill, the mechanic his little shop, and the merchant his little store, each employing a small number of hands, while in almost every case the employer was himself a laborer in his own place of business. The apprentice who learned a trade or the clerk who learned a business generally had his board and lodging with his employer and was received into his family on terms of equality. Now all this is changed. The little stores are being swallowed up by the larger ones, the mechanic's little shop is superseded by the great factory, and the little mills are united together into one gigantic trust. Men are employed, supervised, and paid by an agent of the company. The employer never comes into contact with them. In hundreds of cases he does not know the men either by sight or by name. Any social intercourse between his family and theirs is out of the question. They live in tenement houses down by the factory; he lives in a marble palace up on the avenue.

We know that there are many exceptions to the customs which we have described, but that the trend of the times is steadily toward a wider separation between employer and employee cannot reasonably be doubted. A man takes rank according to the machine he runs. If a mechanical machine, he belongs to the class of laborers, and if a metaphorical machine, he takes rank as a capitalist. Machines of one kind or another have rent society asunder and put an impassable gulf between its extremes. Hence we have, as descriptive of the different

divisions, the un-American terms, "the classes" and "the masses," "capital and labor," "employer and employee," "the four hundred" and "the rabble." Labor has been revolutionized by the introduction of machinery, and has suffered social degradation as the consequence.

Perhaps the most serious political and religious problem of the age is to be found in the relative positions of capital and labor. The two classes have drifted apart until each regards the other as an antagonist. Each seeks its own interest regardless of the other, and each invokes the aid of government in furtherance of its ends. Capital has money and influence with which to corrupt legislatures, and labor holds the ballots with which to elect them. In the political struggle between them no prophet can foretell the outcome. Labor seems sullen on account of real or fancied wrongs, and is determined to revolutionize legislation in its interest. Capital, on the contrary, is alert, and has its lobbyists in legislatures and places of power supplied with funds to shape all measures for its benefit. If corruption on the one hand shall lead to violence on the other the conflict will be one which will shake society to its center and endanger the very existence of our form of government.

A similar condition of things exists in the Church. Employer and employee no longer worship at the same altar. If both are Christians, as a rule they attend different churches, the one belonging to what is popularly known as a "rich man's church" and the other to the "poor man's church." Such separation is so manifestly unchristian that large bodies of workingmen attend no church, and are coming to look upon the Church as their enemy rather than their friend. Let no one delude himself with the idea that all such are foreigners and anarchists of despicable character, who hate the Church only because it condemns their vile practices. There are hundreds of thousands of native Americans and law-abiding citizens who never darken the doors of our churches. Many of them were reared in Christian homes and are themselves nominal Christians. They send their children to the Sunday school and teach them the principles of the Christian faith, but they will not humiliate themselves by attending a church which is controlled by wealth, in which they are treated with condescension, contempt, or patronage. The result is the strange spectacle of large bodies of

men who reverence the name of Christ but hate the Christian Church. The question so often discussed in religious assemblies of the way in which to reach the masses, and the changing methods adopted for this purpose, are a practical confession that the Church has drifted away from these masses and is no longer in touch with them.

At the bottom of the whole difficulty, both in politics and religion, lies the changed relation between capital and labor resulting from the introduction of machinery into all industries. The remedy is not to be found in the removal of machinery, for neither capital nor labor would consent to go back to the old methods, with the consequent loss of production. Some scheme must be devised by which a workman can run a machine without being degraded to the level of a machine, and by which he shall get his full share of the increased production of machinery. Any adjustment which promises the accomplishment of these ends will bind employer and employee together in common interest and mutual respect. In the State they will then be fellow-citizens seeking to uphold the government with equal patriotism, while in the Church they will be brethren in their Father's house.

What wages shall be is the one great question which is agitating society to its depths, and upon the solution of which the stability and peace of the nation depend.

While the old industrial *régime* continued supply and demand, competition and contract, solved the whole labor question to the satisfaction of both employer and employee. So long have these economic principles been employed that they have come to be regarded as axiomatic truths. They lie at the basis of our whole industrial and commercial system, and are supposed to embody ultimate truth. But, notwithstanding their venerable age and their hitherto universal acceptance, the changed relations of society, resulting from the introduction of machinery, to-day challenge their accuracy as a measure of right and deny their ability to solve the wage problem either satisfactorily or justly. We know that to question these economic principles is to assault the foundations of society; but if the foundations are unsound the sooner they are removed the better.

What does the phrase "supply and demand" mean as an arbiter in the wage question to-day? Since machines in almost

every industry do the work of half a dozen men, the supply of labor is always in excess of the demand. In a new country like ours, where land is to be cleared, railroads and turnpikes constructed, rivers bridged and cities built, the men thus thrown out of employment can measurably find employment at something else. But even here, with all these advantages, there is constantly an army of men out of employment. Proof of this is found in the rapidity with which the place of strikers is supplied and in the number of applicants answering any advertisement of a situation. If already the supply is in excess of the demand what will it be when the country is fully populated, its industries stereotyped, and no new avenues open to labor? With three men seeking work where there is only work for one, the question of supply and demand as a rule by which to determine the wage of the worker becomes a club in the hand of the employer with which to beat the laborer down to starvation rates. Under this system the more work a man has the more wages he gets, and the less he has to do the less he gets for doing even that—a strange fulfillment, though foreign to its meaning, of the Scriptural passage, "For he that hath, to him shall be given; and he that hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he hath."

"Competition and contract," with a glut in the labor market—what do they mean for the toilers? Simply that each man will underbid the other until the limit is reached at which he can live. Any wages on which life can be sustained are better than no work with starvation. The question is not as to what his work is worth, or what the man can earn for his employer, but simply what he can get, and the lowest bidder gets the work. He bargains, it is true, to take the wage which he gets; it was a fair contract; he may even have named the figure himself; but will our sense of justice say that such competition and contract secure for him the wage which he ought to have? Esau, at starvation's door, sold his birthright for a mess of pottage; but will any man affirm that because he signed the contract the transaction was righteous? If so, then Shylock had a right to his pound of flesh, because it was "so nominated in the bond."

Nothing is ever settled until it is settled aright. There is a deep feeling in the mind of the working classes everywhere that

they have been defrauded by their employers; not that they do not receive the wage for which they bargained, but that such wage is not their fair share of the profits. When, as at Homestead, the strikers take possession of the mill, and deny the right of the owner to introduce other men without their consent, they are simply expressing an undefined conviction that they have some property in the mill. If questioned their crude thought will be something like this: "Our labor, coupled with the capital of our employer, built that mill, and we, therefore, have some rights in it."

"But did you not get the wages agreed upon for your work?"

"Yes, but our work was worth more than we received. We only earned a bare living, while our employer has become a millionaire."

It is only another way of saying they did not get their fair share of the joint product of his capital and their labor. They understand that they received all that the law will allow them; they know that they have no legal claim upon the mill; but still there is a vague conviction that the equities of the case have not been satisfied. If the employer had not made so much they would have been satisfied with less. But if he rolls in wealth derived from the profits of their labor, while they remain poor, they will always feel that a part of what is his in law belongs of right to them.

In monarchical countries, where the masses are ruled by the classes and where popular education does not obtain, all such feelings may be suppressed by the strong arm of government, and the demands of labor may be ignored by capital; but in a country like ours, with free schools and government, these muttering protests of the masses will make themselves heard and understood in the halls of legislation and will take shape in articulate legal enactments. If the law oppresses the law-makers they will soon change the law. This inchoate feeling of labor that a just wage cannot be determined by competition and contract, but that the product of labor ought to be equitably divided between capital and labor, has already forced recognition, and the justness of its claim has been measurably conceded. The sliding scale of wages adopted in many of our mines and mills, by which the worker gets less when profits

are small and more when profits are great, concedes the whole claim that the just wage of the workman is not a fixed sum, but a certain proportion of the profits. What proportion of the profits labor should receive in any given industry is a very complicated question, and one which will depend for its answer upon a large variety of conditions; but the principle of an equitable division of the product between capital and labor has already forged to the front and forced recognition. More and more must this principle dominate the labor market and be incorporated into the law of the land.

Not without protest, however, will this principle win its way. The capitalist demands, "Am I not entitled to all that is left after the workmen have been paid as much as they could have elsewhere made? If by my superior ability in management I can increase the productiveness of the concern, may I not justly claim all the profits above what the same labor could produce elsewhere? If John Smith pays his workmen all his business will warrant, and I pay my hands as much as he, then all the balance belongs to me. Business ability should have its reward." Yes, if, unaided, it can earn one; but when such ability depends upon and unites with labor in order to secure a reward, then that reward must be equitably divided between them. Capital and management are as powerless without labor as labor without them. It is what the two jointly produce that is to be divided. Why then shall the profits which John Smith can make from his capital and the labor of his workmen be made the standard by which to determine the wage of other workmen? It may be that John Smith is incompetent to manage the business. Most assuredly he is if another man can take the same workmen and double the profits. And is the workman then entitled only to the wage which his labor under incompetent management can produce, while when the business is properly managed all profits in excess of this belong to the management? This is simply saying that the laborer must share all the losses in the business, but must have no share in the profits. What if John Smith should make nothing beyond his living, and in consequence not be able to pay any wages at all; must the men in the successful establishment work for nothing because John Smith can afford to pay no more? Why not begin at the other end of the line, with

the amount which the business competently managed will afford, and make that the standard for determining the amount of wages for workmen in that industry? It is true John Smith could not afford to pay it, and would have to go out of the business. But if his incapacity is robbing the laborer of what he could make under better management, then he ought to go out of business and take his place among the workmen, where he belongs. No standard wage can, with any show of justice, be established upon any other basis than an equitable division of the product of labor with average ability in the management of the business. If the manager have exceptional ability, and if his talents must have as their reward all that he can make more than the average competitor, then, in all fairness, a manager who falls below the average in business capacity ought to bear all the deficiency resulting from his incapacity. Equity demands one of two things: either a sliding scale by which labor shares all the profits and losses or a standard wage based upon average profits when the business is conducted with average ability. But as the money value of any standard will be a variable quantity the wage must be not a fixed sum of money but a definite proportion of the product.

The statement so often and so confidently made that capital is compelled to assume all risks and bear all losses, and therefore is entitled to all the profits, is without foundation in fact. The laborer, in his measure, shares all the risks and losses in the business. Let prices decline, and a reduction in wages is sure to follow. Let there be a dull market, and the mills shut down or run on half time. Let the employer fail, and the workmen are thrown out of employment and frequently lose their overdue pay. Their loss, severally, may be small compared with that of the capitalist, but in the aggregate it may be, and often is, greater than his. If, then, there is no security for their wages when the business is run at a loss, there can be no reason for excluding them from a share in the profits over and above the standard wage when the business prospers. Not a few large employers are beginning to feel the force of this reasoning and are recognizing the principle by distributing a dividend among their employees at the end of the year. What is now done in this respect in exceptional cases, voluntarily and as an act of generosity, remains to be established as the rule.

It will be objected that these workingmen would only spend their share of the profits in drink and debauchery. Yet this objection is a double-edged sword which cuts both ways. What does the employer do with the money? The number of employers is small compared with that of laborers, but perhaps the proportion of them who spend their money viciously is as great. The only question before us, however, is not what use will be made of the money, but to whom it belongs. If the workman has a right to a share in the profits no man can justly withhold it from him. Such affected patronage is nothing less than robbery, and it is poor atonement for the crime to take a part of the money and build a workingmen's library, or to bequeath it at death to charitable and religious purposes. A just wage cannot be fixed by supply and demand, nor by competition and contract, nor yet can it be left to generosity and charity. It has its taproot down in the equities of the case. If industrial commodities are the joint product of capital and labor, then each owns a certain share of them, proportioned to the contribution which each made in their production. That share is not any fixed sum of money, irrespective of the market value of the product, but a fixed share of the product, variable in value according to the market. An advance in wages where the wage is a certain fixed sum of money does not necessarily mean an improvement in the pecuniary condition of the wage-earner. He may often get much larger pay and yet be no better off. Suppose the price of wages in all industries were doubled; as the market value of an article depends upon the amount of labor entering into it the price of every commodity would also be instantly doubled; so that the double wage would buy no more now than the single wage did before. It is useless, therefore, to attempt to quell the rising discontent of labor by showing that wages are higher now than formerly, or by offering an additional increase to their present money value. The workman wants what his labor produced, be its money value small or great, and not until he is satisfied that he gets it will labor agitations cease, nor will the public conscience feel that they ought to cease.

To determine the precise equities between capital and labor is the greatest problem of the age, and he who succeeds in solving it will be the greatest benefactor of the race. Perhaps civilization is not yet ripe for its solution. But while we may

not be able to formulate the law of equity in the case with exactness we can discover where it lies and approximately outline it. The gigantic trusts, syndicates, and corporations of the day have themselves eliminated one of the most perplexing factors of the problem. It used to be that the capitalist and manager of the business were one and the same, and then the question which defied solution was how much of the success of the business was due to the management. But in all these great companies capital is separated from the management. The owners of the stock do not run the business, but employ an agent for that purpose at a fixed salary. The amount of profits due to the management, therefore, is a fixed sum which leaves the balance to be divided simply between capital and labor.

Let us take a standard industry of the country—for example, the manufacture of cotton goods—as an illustration, and attempt the solution of the problem. Suppose the plant with its machinery to be worth \$125,000, the raw material used per annum \$500,000, and the capital required to run the business \$200,000, while the number of hands employed is 500. At the end of the year the output of the mill is ascertained to have been \$800,000, exclusive of all commissions and freight paid to market it. How would a court of equity distribute that amount? In the first place, the raw material must be paid for. Then the rental value of the mill, including ordinary wear and tear and necessary repairs, amounting to about \$10,000, must be deducted. After this, insurance, both on the plant and stock, must be paid, aggregating some \$2,000. Then the manager must be paid his salary, about \$8,000. Next a fund should be created to replace obsolete machinery and to cover all possible loss by accident in the business. This should be an undivided fund, belonging neither to employer nor employees, but to the concern, and should not be used for the improvement of the plant, which is the sole property of the capitalist. Let this fund be made ample, so as to give the capitalist as good security for his money as any other investment. Suppose, for this purpose, we set aside \$20,000 per annum. Finally, add for fuel, light, tax, office and traveling expenses, and for incidentals \$6,000, making in all \$546,000. Now, the capitalist has nothing left in the business but simply \$200,000 in money, for which he has as good security as any other investment could

furnish. To what rate is he entitled for the use of his money? The public conscience, which has enacted a legal rate for each State, has thus decided that that is all the money is worth. But suppose we grant forty per cent more, to cover any possible risk which such investment may involve more than another. Five per cent. is all that first-class security will pay; let us give the employer seven per cent. This will make his share \$14,000. Deducting all these amounts from the value of the output, we have left \$240,000 to be divided among the laborers. It is what their toil produced; it belongs of right to them; it is their just wage and remains to be divided among them, not equally, but equitably, according to the relative value of each man's labor in producing the output. This amount is thirty per cent of the value of the finished product. The figures which we have named may not be accurate; they may be too great in some cases and too small in others; but their sum total will not vary very widely from the truth. After all other claims have been met something like thirty per cent of the output will be left as the amount due to labor. With this amount, be its money value small or great, labor must be content, except that whatever surplus there may be in the fund set apart to cover losses by accident and for improved machinery belongs to labor and must be distributed in dividends among the workmen. Or, better still, having thus determined approximately the relative share of capital, labor, and management, deduct from the value of the entire output all fixed claims and then divide what is left among these three in the proportion which each sustains to the other, namely, capital, 3; labor, 30; and management, 1.

Should it be objected that this plan is impracticable, because the workmen could not wait till the end of the year for their wages, while the amount to which they are entitled could not be ascertained before, the answer is that if the principle be correct its practice will not be impossible. Let a minimum wage, agreed upon, be drawn weekly and the balance at the end of the quarter or six months or year, whenever the amount due them can be ascertained. This is precisely what is done now by the partners in nearly all business firms. That some such plan is feasible is rendered indubitable by the cooperative establishments already in successful operation. Let the experiment be made upon a large scale and the results be carefully

tabulated, and in a quarter of a century the proportionate value of labor to the finished product in any given industry could be determined as accurately as the value of any other commodity. The combined labor and capital of the country produce annually sufficient to give every person a comfortable living, with a considerable surplus for luxuries. It needs only that an equitable division should be made—that each man should be given the share which his labor or skill or capital has contributed to the general wealth—to satisfy the public conscience and to secure general contentment. Since the vast syndicates, trusts, and corporations which control the industries of the land are created by law and constantly invoke the powers of government to protect their rights, it is only just that the law should provide against the abuse of their privileges by requiring that they shall neither overcharge the public on the one hand nor underpay their employees on the other. We sadly mistake the trend of the times if there is not a steady march toward the enactment of statutes which shall determine the wage of the workman and give him a claim, in a court of equity, for a fair share of the profits. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* is causing many men to look forward. His dream may be Utopian in many respects, but there is much in it, nevertheless, capable of realization. In a government like ours, where the people are sovereign, Vulcan, and not Pluto, must ultimately reign. The man with the paper cap, the hammer, and the leathern apron is elbowing his way to the front amid a wilderness of wheels, compelling the recognition of his manhood and the dignity of labor. It may be that under the present industrial régime labor gets its full share of the profits in many cases, and where it does not the employer is not so much to blame as the system which necessitates the grinding down of labor. But the old system is rapidly becoming effete and is giving way to something better. The eastern sky is already streaked with gray, foretelling a new industrial day. The old order changeth. Get ready for the new.

Jacob Todd

ART. VI.—THE RELATIONS AND RESULTS OF OUR
EARLY MISSIONARY WORK IN OREGON.

THE relation of our early missionary work on the North Pacific coast to the Americanization of Oregon and its social and educational culture is a part of our history which has not hitherto received that careful analysis and plain statement that its importance demands. The writer desires in this paper to supply this deficiency, and so give the work its proper credit, not only as an agency of purely spiritual influence, but also as almost the only embodiment and representative of American principles during the determining struggle between the United States and Great Britain for the ownership of Oregon.

Two things may be premised: Our review of this subject must proceed from a purely historic standpoint and be largely summarizations of facts rather than elaborate and historical discussions of them. Also, if we write almost exclusively of our Methodist Episcopal missionary work on this coast, we do not forget or ignore the fact that the same things here written about our work would be true in their measure of the work of other American missions in the same field.

Leading up to our subject a few undisputed statements of history should be made:

1. Oregon, by which name, as used in this paper, we understand all the region of country west of the Rocky Mountains and north of the forty-second degree of north latitude as far as the forty-ninth degree, was practically unknown to the lettered world up to 1792, only one hundred years ago, when Captain Robert Gray, commanding the Boston ship *Columbia*, discovered the mouth of the great river of the West and named it "*Columbia*," after the vessel he commanded.

2. Nothing was understood of the geographical or topographical character of its great interior until, under the orders of President Jefferson, Captains Lewis and Clark crossed the summits of the Rocky Mountains, and, striking the head waters of the *Columbia*, followed it downward until they reached the Pacific Ocean, on the 15th of November, 1805, only eighty-seven years ago.

3. The first effort to establish a localized commercial interest

in Oregon was made by the Pacific Fur Company, under the direction of John Jacob Astor, in the founding of "Astoria," in 1811, a little less than eighty-two years ago.

4. During the last war between the United States and Great Britain, in 1814, Astoria, including all its merchandise of every description, was disposed of by its resident partners of Mr. Astor, who were British subjects, to the Northwestern Company, a British corporation. The American name, Astoria, was superseded by the British name, "Fort George," and the British flag took the place of the Stars and Stripes.

5. By a consolidation of the Northwestern Company with the Hudson's Bay Company, another corporation operating under letters patent from the British crown, the Hudson's Bay Company not only secured a complete monopoly of the trade of the valley of the Columbia, but became the recognized representative of British pretensions to the ownership of the country itself; so that from 1821 to 1848, the period historically known as that of "joint occupancy," that company was the very right arm of British power in its fierce struggle against the ownership of the country by the United States.

6. The Hudson's Bay Company, thus constituted, was one of the most powerful commercial monopolies in the world. Its commercial capital reached millions, and its partners, clerks, and servants numbered high into the thousands, when, on the 19th of October, 1834, nearly fifty-nine years ago, the Methodist Episcopal Church, in the person of her noble representative, Jason Lee, opened her evangel of light in an established mission that embodied and typified both American civilization and evangelical Christianity in the sight at once of the unrelieved paganism of untold ages and the un-American and un-Protestant power which had held the destiny of Oregon in its grip of steel so long. And these were the contesting forces that here and there entered the lists in the great intellectual and moral tournament which was to decide the social, religious, and national destiny of Oregon.

From this historical standpoint we are now prepared to study first the relations of our missionary work thus established to the Americanization of Oregon. What we mean by the "Americanization of Oregon" is the settlement of the question of the ownership of the country, which had been so long in controversy

between the United States and Great Britain, in favor of the United States, thus making it American and not British territory. Previous to the establishment of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Oregon, in 1834, a number of attempts had been made to establish American commercial interests and American settlements in the valley of the Columbia. The three historically most prominent and most ably sustained were that of the Pacific Fur Company, at the head of which was John Jacob Astor, in 1811; that of Captain Bonneville, an officer of the United States army, on furlough for that purpose, and having the quasi support of the government, together with the patronage of some of the most prominent merchants of New York, in 1832-34; and that of Mr. Nathaniel Wyethe, who invested a large private fortune, for that time, in his enterprise, besides having strong financial and moral support from the wealth and culture of Boston. But for reasons that will soon appear these were all utter failures, and when Mr. Lee introduced himself to Dr. John McLoughlin, the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rocky Mountains, on September 15, 1834, there was really nothing of American influence in the entire region over which this able governor presided. Therefore when those two men met that day there stood face to face causes and destinies of wonderful import to Oregon, and even to civilization itself, the world over.

They were both typical and representative men. One was Scotch-English, with all the stalwart grip and force of that splendid blood. The other was of pure New England parentage, a revised and improved edition of the Anglo-Saxon of the seagirt isle. Each stood over six feet in height and looked on a level into the other's eyes. Seldom in all history have two such splendid representatives of opposing forces and antagonistic purposes stood face to face with each other as in the case of these two men. One is tempted to stand and gaze long upon this strange moral and intellectual tableau thus thrown against the foreground of an opening and against the background of a departing era; for when their hands clasped it was suggestive of the old unconsciously welcoming the new, and the new almost as unconsciously bidding the old adieu.

Dr. McLoughlin, as the representative of the Hudson's Bay Company, and hence the embodiment of British power and

purpose in Oregon, could not meet Mr. Lee as he could and did meet Mr. Nathaniel Wyethe. The cases and the causes were entirely dissimilar. Mr. Wyethe came with merchandise—came as a trader—to set up a rival establishment within sound of the morning guns of Fort Vancouver. Mr. Lee came as a missionary to bring help and moral uplift to degraded men. Mr. Wyethe had arms in his hands; Mr. Lee had ideas and moral purposes in his mind and heart. The one could be met with arms if necessary, and the Hudson's Bay Company be thus rid of the annoyance of his commercial opposition, and Britain of the more hated pestilence of his Americanism. The other could only be met by ideas and moral purposes better than Dr. McLoughlin's own. One cannot shoot an idea to death, he cannot kill a moral influence with gunpowder; and, besides, those who knew Dr. McLoughlin in his lifetime knew very well that his moral nature was far superior to the purposes and work of the soulless corporation of which he was then the executive head. Still, justice requires the statement that it is not probable that Dr. McLoughlin was well enough skilled in moral casuistry or sufficiently acquainted with the history and results of missionary enterprises in other parts of the world to comprehend the meaning to the future history of this coast that was wrapped up in the white folds of Mr. Lee's commission. Otherwise he might have hindered when he helped, and thwarted when he counseled and upheld.

It is not our purpose in this paper to follow in detail the history of our early missionary work further than to show how potentially this and succeeding missionary establishments became the nucleus around which gathered whatever there was of American life and purpose in Oregon for ten years or more following 1834. Hence the story of that work as it related to the Indian population will be entirely omitted here.

After two years and a half of most self-denying, but still hopefully successful, work by Messrs. Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, Cyrus Shepard, and P. L. Edwards, in establishing this mission, three men and three women were added to their numbers by appointment of our missionary board, arriving in Oregon in May, 1837. The first marriage of a white man to a white woman in Oregon took place on the 16th of July following. The contracting parties were Jason Lee and Miss Anna Maria

Pittman, the pioneer American missionary thus becoming the pioneer American home builder in the valley of the Willamette. On the same day Mr. Cyrus Shepard and Miss Susan Downing, both of the mission, were married. In September following Rev. David Leslie, accompanied by his wife and several children, a thorough New England family, having some of the best blood of old Massachusetts flowing in their veins, arrived. These were the beginnings of American home life in this valley. Did not this mean something for American civilization in Oregon? We shall see further on, though we must pass through the work of years in single sentences. Up to this time there had scarcely been the semblance of a home, as we understand that word, in Oregon. But here were educated and cultivated white women, accustomed to the refinements of the parlors of Boston and Lynn, of Newark and New York, able to grace any social life, as well as aid in lifting up a fallen and degraded race. Thus an American community, with all the elements of increase and perpetuity in itself, was established in the very heart of Oregon—consisting of men, women, and children, with homes, schools, and worship, with flocks and herds and plows and harvests—peaceably but successfully confronting the rule of the British Hudson's Bay Company over the fair realm it had dominated so long. In less than three years more fifty-one other persons, including thirteen families, were added to this settlement. Thus, in less than six years after its first missionary contingent of three men had reached Oregon, the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church had not only planted an American community in Oregon, but had made it so strong that it was ineradicable, doing what fur traders and commercial adventurers and even the United States government had failed to do in fifty years of effort.

Having thus summarily noted the beginning and traced the development of this entirely and intensely American force in Oregon up to the autumn of 1840, we are in possession of the following facts: The entire number of adults, men and women, that our missionary board had transplanted from the best life of the old States into Oregon was forty, constituting not far from twenty American homes. Probably these homes held at that time not far from sixty children, born to an inheritance of American patriotism which certainly would not be diminished

when they contrasted their own with the homes of those who disputed with them the dominion of Oregon.

Meantime, to understand the true position and measure the actual work of this American missionary community, we should know what the Hudson's Bay Company, as representing British pretensions to Oregon, had been doing during the six years in which this formidable and opposing force had been developing before it. Surely such astute leaders and such faithful men as McLoughlin and Douglas, intrusted by their company and by their government with such vast mercantile and national interests, could not be insensible or indifferent to the ominous threat against those interests involved in the very presence of these American missionary communities near them. Two things they did, both in themselves well chosen for the end they sought. First, they introduced, in 1838, two French Canadian Roman Catholic priests. These were British subjects, and, of course, strongly in favor of British and against American rule in Oregon. Second, in 1842 they brought a colony of one hundred and twenty-five persons, also British subjects, from Winnipeg, to settle in Oregon and attach themselves to its soil. Thus, at the two points where that great company feared the influence of the American missions the most, they made the most strenuous efforts to counteract that influence. They knew the greatness of the prize at issue, and they were not men to neglect any fair means to win that prize for the country they represented. We are not complaining of this action, but are simply recording it. There is a measure of honor that we accord them. They did what they could, and in the best way they could, to counteract the influence which they could not but see must, if left unchecked, give the long-disputed Oregon, coveted equally by England and the United States, to the latter nation. Their faithfulness to their trust was honorable.

We are now in a position to study with something of intelligence the elements that entered into and finally decided the struggle for Oregon. There were two: the one was political, British against American; the other was religious, Romanist against Protestant—British and Romanist, American and Protestant. Thus they stood in array over against each other. It seems a strange coincidence, but history can make no other

record of that period of the struggle for Oregon. The claims and interests of Great Britain at this period, it is safe to say, were sustained by a greater number of people than were those of the United States. But they were a conglomerate of various colors and cultures, with little of moral or social adhesiveness. Noble and cultured white men, English and Scotch, mostly, were in the lead, but their followers were largely French Canadians, or half-castes from the Red River country. Their social and home life seemed to weaken rather than strengthen the moral and intellectual fiber of the best men among them. The traders, the chief factors, and even the governor himself, were as the *voyageurs* and trailmen in this regard. Their children were, as a body, without any large and worthy ambition—too high to be Indians and too low to be white men. Among them all there was not a single white wife and mother. On the side of the American community, embodied up to this time, and later, in the missions and missionaries, there was a homogeneity of moral and intellectual and national idea that gave it the strength of welded steel. They were among the hardest and most aspiring people of the New World. They had been trained in the furrows and in the shops and at the forges where human frames are annealed unto endurance and tempered into elasticity. They were educated. Many, both men and women, had high literary ability and culture. They had ambition, that supreme energizer which forever lifts great souls toward the skies. They comprehended their responsibility and accurately measured their opportunity. And this was the body of men who stood undauntedly for American interests and supremacy in Oregon against the great Hudson's Bay Company, representing British interests and supremacy. Can we not now see the moral and philosophical reason for the final issue of the struggle?

We have carried the parallel and contrast between the Hudson's Bay Company and the American missions only down to 1840, because after that date comparatively few persons were added to the original missionary force in Oregon, and for two or three years following the "missionary influence," as it was called, was at its zenith. But the relative power of the Hudson's Bay Company grew less, and its grip on the destiny of Oregon was forever loosened.

The writer would not detract from the praise due any man, or any class of men, for labor on behalf of early Oregon, nor would he add to the laurels of any one more than is his due; but, up to this period, the American interest in Oregon owed more to the work and influence of Jason Lee than to those of any other one man, if not, indeed, of all other men in the country combined. He was really the corypheus of the American community, as was Dr. McLoughlin of the Hudson's Bay Company influence. Being first in the field, he very early made himself acquainted with the country from the Umpqua to Puget Sound and from the ocean to the Rocky Mountains. His manuscript journal, now open before me, shows that he estimated highly the agricultural capabilities of the country, and especially of the Willamette valley, and as early as 1835 believed it would soon be occupied by a civilized people. His correspondence with the Board of Missions, under whose directions he labored, which was published in New York in 1835-38, also evidenced this conviction. Following up his belief upon this point, in 1838 he returned overland to the States, and before the missionary board in New York, in the public prints, and before great audiences, from Maine to South Carolina, and from Boston to St. Louis, set forth the character, needs, and advantages of Oregon. He spent a full year in this employment, visiting Washington and conferring with the secretary of state and the secretary of war, and receiving substantial aid from the officers of the general government for the furtherance of the purpose for which he was in the East—the organization and equipment of a strong reinforcement for his missionary work in Oregon. His purpose was completely successful, and in October of 1839 he sailed from New York in a ship chartered by the missionary board, with what was really an American colony—ministers, mechanics, farmers, teachers—and with supplies for the work upon which they had engaged, to the value of twenty-five thousand dollars. It was the largest and best equipped company that, on such a purpose, had ever sailed from any port; and when it reached its western destination in 1840, with Mr. Lee at its head, it morally fixed the national status of Oregon, because it put the American influence far in advance of the British.

A single other point in our view of the relation of those mis-

sionary stations to the Americanization of Oregon it is necessary to notice. It is this: these stations became the centers around which gathered all there was of American sentiment or American people in the country. This was especially true of the Willamette station. True to its purpose, and the nation under whose charter it pursued that purpose, the Hudson's Bay Company would do nothing to induce or foster American settlement. While it would sell its goods to Americans it would buy nothing of them. This was the surest system of antagonism it could possibly have adopted. It had forced the Americans out of the country before the missionary stations were established, and, until an organization able to cope with itself in mercantile operations could take up the work of colonization, it could keep them out. Rivalry in trade it did not fear, for that it could easily withstand. But the missionary establishments, while independent and self-supporting, were not trading posts. The Hudson's Bay Company could not prevent the ministry of hospitality which the missionaries were always ready to exercise toward their countrymen, and all others, indeed, who came to their doors or pitched their tents under the shadows of their sanctuary. Hence, though the missionaries were not traders, nor their stations depots of commerce, they became, in the only way in which rivalry could have been successful, the rivals of that mighty monopoly; and by the time any considerable number of American citizens were prepared to follow the path the missionaries had blazed out into the valleys of Oregon the latter had prepared an asylum for them and broken the right arm of the power of the Hudson's Bay Company. Never afterward did it, or the British nation it had so ably and faithfully represented, recover its supremacy in Oregon. Morally the contest was ended, and Oregon was Americanized. It remained only for a treaty between England and the United States to register this moral decision, and this was soon done.

But the full influence and importance of our early missionary work in Oregon cannot be understood unless we consider its relation to the social and educational culture of the country, as well as to its Americanization. As this branch of our theme is so broad in itself, and requires so extended and philosophical a treatment for its full understanding, we can here review it only in part. The elements of this class of culture are dis-

covered in two things—persons and the work they perform. There is never a creation without a creator; there is never a social state without a social being who is the creator of it; there is never an intellectual culture without a culturing intellect to produce it. We can therefore best consider this question in the following order: first, the persons, men and women whom our Missionary Society gave to Oregon, and, secondly, the work which they accomplished.

While we count the strictly missionary era of our work in Oregon to have closed with the organization of a regular Annual Conference in 1853, we do not by any means limit the relations and influence of that work on the social and educational culture of Oregon to that period. It was germinal rather than final and finished, and has touched and molded every subsequent period up to and including the present even more potentially than it did its own. Within this classification who were the men and the women thus given by our Missionary Society to Oregon? Let us write their names, for the pen that lingers on the names of heroes becomes itself heroic. Of ministers there were Jason Lee, Daniel Lee, David Leslie, H. K. W. Perkins, J. P. Richmond, J. H. Frost, Alvan F. Waller, Gustavus Hines, George Gary, William Roberts, James H. Wilbur, Nehemiah Doane, Thomas H. Pearne, Isaac Dillon, J. W. Miller, F. S. Hoyt, C. S. Kingsley, J. F. Devore, William Royal, T. F. Royal, J. W. Hines, H. K. Hines, P. G. Buchanan—a quarter of a hundred men each of whom brought with him a Deborah, or a Miriam, or a Hannah, or a Lydia, or a Dorcas, or a Lois, or a Eunice, or a Monica, or a Susannah Wesley, or a Madam Guyon, or any of the noble sisterhood of the ancient or the modern Church. Of laymen there were Cyrus Shepard, P. L. Edwards, H. B. Brewer, Dr. I. L. Babcock, James Olley, J. L. Parrish, who afterward became a minister; Hamilton Campbell, whose honored widow still graces her place in the Christian life of the city of Portland, and whose daughter, Mrs. Maria Smith, by her personal devotion and her large benefactions has put her name in such noble relief that the historian of Methodism in Oregon will be compelled to write her name by the side of the most “elect ladies” in the Church; and, named last because in some sense crowning all, George Abernethy, the first American Governor of Oregon.

Let us select from this list a few names and give the men who bore them the linning of a sentence :

Jason Lee, standing six feet three inches in stature, with a frame of molded steel, open, strong, manly face, his blue Saxon eye looking squarely and calmly into the flushed and noble face of Dr. McLoughlin—a very king of men—and preaching his revered and beloved Christ with equal power to high and low alike, the man of whom Dr. Fisk, when *the* man—the *providential* man—to found the Oregon Mission was sought, wrote : “ I know but one man, Jason Lee.” This companion and confidant of Osmon C. Baker, Miner Raymond, and others like them, this student and spiritual disciple of Fisk at Wilbraham, took into the deep wilds of Oregon in 1834 a nature of breadth and power that eminently fitted him to be a founder of empire as well as a successful minister of Christ, both of which he actually became.

Following Lee in the superintendency of the mission came George Gary. Who and what was he ? In our boyhood and early manhood we could enter no Methodist cottage or palace from the Hudson to Lake Erie, or from Canada to Pennsylvania, where the name of George Gary was not held as the synonym for gentleness and loveliness of life and for eloquence and power in the pulpit. Short in stature, yet broad of shoulder and deep of chest, his round white face was as open as the sky, his full blue eye as clear as the light, his smile a sunbeam ; and when we knew him his silver hair was a bannered crown upon his head in the midst of his impassioned oratory. He nearly reached the highest honors of his Church, and beautifully and sweetly would he have graced them. Such was George Gary, the second superintendent of the Oregon Mission.

To speak or write of William Roberts one needs his own purity and precision of rhetoric, his own superbly trained and perfectly modulated voice, his clear and ringing enunciation that never missed a tone nor made a discord. For forty years that splendid voice and cultured oratory proclaimed a Gospel neither added to nor taken from, with the same logical precision and the same effectiveness of appeal, in the schoolhouses, in the cabins, in the groves, or in the city pulpits throughout Oregon. He was the third and last superintendent of the Oregon Mission.

Alvan F. Waller was another man who stood full six feet in height. Lithe, sinewy, alert, indomitable; with clear insight and calm, trustful outlook; with a penetrating thought that never missed the heart of the truth nor mistook its covering for its core; with a directness and power of appeal that often smote like an unexpected thunderbolt; immovable as granite yet elastic as tempered steel, he left an impress on the life of his age in Oregon such as but few men are able to make.

Gustavus Hines, the Conference classmate in old Genesee of Waller, and his lifelong friend and companion, should be mentioned by his side. They came to Oregon together, they wrought hand in hand, and they sleep the honored sleep but a few feet apart. Strong in both body and mind, a presence that gave the world assurance of a man perfectly devoted to an evangelical ministry, a preacher of great thoughtfulness and power, a writer of more than ordinary ability, a man beloved and a friend trusted, he, too, gave the spiritual and intellectual life of Oregon an enduring impress for good.

And we cannot close these representative sketches of men given to Oregon by our missionary work without mentioning another name that represents in our history a personality which, perhaps as much as any of our missionary era, left its mark upon that era and upon the future of this portion of our national life. The place filled by James H. Wilbur was as exceptional as his personality was unique. He grappled his friends to himself with hooks of steel softened and tempered with tears. In his purposes he was unrelenting. His will was as imperious as Caesar's, while his heart was as tender as a woman's. Some man like him must needs have lived in his day in Oregon to make the full-orbed manhood of our ministry and its vigor and conservatism and success incomparable and complete. The quarter of a century of his life devoted to the elevation of the Yakima Indian nation gave him a national reputation and influence that made him a counselor of presidents and cabinets on questions which related to the welfare of the Indian tribes. Like Lee and Waller and Hines, his physical presence was imposing and princely. As Napier said of Ridge, writing from the field on which he fell, "No men fell on the field that day with more glory than he; yet many fell, and there was much glory."

But time and space would fail us to speak of those of whom these were but representatives. Could such men have lived their long years and poured the fire and culture of their eloquence, the purity and consecration of their Christian service, into the hearts and homes, over the assemblies and congregations, of the Oregon that was, without having imparted the best and truest impulse to the Oregon that now is and that which is yet to be? Were we to take by the hand and lead into the presence of our audience of readers the women who stood by their side and gave these heroes the benediction of their love and confidence both at home and abroad, in the study and in the pulpit, the statement would not seem strange that no equal number of women of any profession ever left so strong and benign an influence on the life of Oregon as those given the State by the selection and appointment of our missionary board from 1834 to 1853.

The writer's thoughts move on, but his pen must cease to record them. He has stood, while writing this paper, in the light of the memory of men whom his heart almost apotheosizes. How they touched, moved, and melted us, and how their work as the years roll on enlarges to our comprehension! Greater opportunity has not been given to mortals since the foot of the Pilgrim stepped on Plymouth Rock. No better men for the opportunity did God ever find among his chosen than were those who laid the foundations of what is to be the greatest, grandest, central State of the ultimate West, in the Americanization of Oregon and the stamp and mold they put on its early social and intellectual life.

A. K. Hines,

ART. VII.—THE ORDER OF MELCHIZEDEK.

THE supply of antiquities still hidden away in the pyramids, temples, and tombs and covered by the soil of Egypt seems to be literally inexhaustible. It is a land of wonders and a land of startling surprises. Though discoveries in this land of archæological marvels have been many and important, that of the Tel el-Amarna tablets will doubtless remain one of the great achievements of the century. The proceedings of learned societies, special monographs by eminent Orientalists and Egyptologists, and periodicals devoted to archæological subjects have furnished studies, criticisms, and translations which have earned for their authors the gratitude of the general student. Professor Sayce presents translations which have been published in the new series of the *Records of the Past*. His admirable introductions are rich in facts and suggestions. The condition of Palestine one hundred years before the Israelitish conquest is shown us in an interesting light. Its numerous cities are tributary to Egypt, and their kings, governors, or princes report to the reigning Pharaoh. They furnish their contingent of soldiers, horses, and war chariots to the king's army upon his demand; and when their own territory is threatened they may appeal to Egypt for help. The king is governed by no uniform rule in his treatment of these dependencies, except to insure their loyalty and maintain their good will by severity or generosity, each case being judged on its own merits. Egyptian governors are appointed to certain cities, while in other cities native princes retain their positions and titles and exercise limited powers. The latter must pay tribute regularly, admit an Egyptian garrison at the pleasure of the great king, and receive the visits of a commissioner who makes an investigation of their political condition and communicates the results to the Pharaoh. Sometimes an Egyptian governor sits by the side of the native prince, but in such case the power of the latter is doubtless nominal. When a native prince is left in power the dependent territory is still called "the country of the king," and an Egyptian governor is appointed over each of its important towns. In this manner the power of the most favored is greatly reduced. The Eryp-

tian soldiers in Palestine consist of several classes. The "soldiers of the palace" are a sort of bodyguard of the prince, and are the most highly honored. The "soldiers of the garrison" are the most numerous, and hold responsible positions. It is possible that the "soldiers of the kingdom" are hired foreign mercenaries, and "the plunderers"—the modern Bedouins are their descendants, at least in character—seem to be in the pay of the Egyptian government. We may express the hope that the last were seldom employed.

The Tel el-Amarna tablets were written in the time of Amenophis III and his son Amenophis IV, or Khuenaten, "the heretic king." They consist, for the most part, of dispatches sent from the governors in Palestine and Syria to the Pharaoh. Several of these letters speak of some common danger which threatens the integrity of the empire. The subject States hold themselves in readiness to resist the foe. The Hittites and their allies are already pressing upon the empire from the north. The peoples of Naharaim and Babylonia will not leave them in peace. Later letters show a disturbed condition of the country which can only exist when the central authority has become weak and is ready to fall. Not only are enemies invading the land, but princes are fighting among themselves. There are criminations and counter-criminations and professions of loyalty. Appeals to Egypt multiply and become pitiable. Evidently the Pharaoh has more than he can do to attend to the religious revolt at home, which finally overthrows his dynasty and inaugurates anew the old *régime*. He must leave Palestine to its fate.

There is one governor who occupies a position quite peculiar and independent. He is the governor of Jerusalem, and his name is Ebed-tob. He is a priest-king, and has been designated to his position by the oracle of the god of the city. This divine appointment to his office evidently gives him great satisfaction, and he refers to the exceptional fact again and again. "Behold, neither my father nor my mother has exalted me in this place; the prophecy of the mighty king has caused me to enter the house of my father." "Behold, this country of the city of Jerusalem neither my father nor my mother has given to me; it was an oracle that gave it to me, even to me." The letter shows that "the mighty king" is the god of Jerusalem.

The king of Egypt is called "the great king," *sarru rabu*, but not "the mighty king," *sarru dannu*. The prophet of Jerusalem in the days of Ebed-tob was the spiritual predecessor of the Jewish prophets of later date, in bringing foreign nations within the range of his vision. We have the very words of one of his prophetic utterances: "While there is a ship in the midst of the sea"—this is the oracle of the mighty king—"the conquests shall continue of the country of Nakhrima and the country of Babylonia," or Kasim, as Babylonia is now under a Kassite dynasty. The translation of Zimmern gives a different reading: "The arm of the mighty king shall conquer the countries of Naharaim and Babylonia." Both translations, however, witness to the historic character of the campaign of Chedor-laomer and the oppression of Chushan-rishathaim (Gen. xiv; Judg. iii, 8-10).

The historicity of that passage of Manetho is defended wherein he relates that when the Hyksos were expelled from Egypt they built or fortified Jerusalem, that they might successfully defend themselves against the attacks from the Assyrians—the Babylonians being known as Assyrians in the time of the historian.

Fortunately the name of the god of Jerusalem has not been lost. In one of his reports Ebed-tob declares that the country of the king has gone over to the Khabiri, or Confederates, and continues: "And now at this moment the city of the mountain of Jerusalem, the city of the temple of the god Uras whose name is 'Salim, the city of the king, is separated from the locality of the men of the city of Keilah." As the priest of 'Salim, Ebed-tob was more than a mere political governor, and makes such a claim. He calls himself, in our letter, "the ally of the king." He professes, nevertheless, perfect loyalty, defends himself against unjust accusations, and does not fail to declare, in humility, "I at the feet of the king my lord seven times seven prostrate myself." His government ranks high among the principalities of Palestine. He is a priest-king, and more a priest than a king. He is priest of 'Salim, and not king of Jerusalem. In Assyria priests of the god Assur preceded kings of the city Assur. The same may be said of the kingdom of Saba in southern Arabia. The government is a theocracy, like that of Israel before the establishment of the monarchy.

We have already learned that Jerusalem was threatened by the Khabiri, or Confederates, and it would seem that Elimelech was at that time their king. The Khabiri are "Hebronites," and Hebron, "the Confederacy," was in their possession and served as their rallying point. Previous to this occupancy the name of the city was Kirjath-arba. This confederacy was formed of Hittites and Amorites. Ebed-tob repeatedly appeals to the Pharaoh for help. "The king has established his name in the country of Jerusalem forever, and he cannot forsake the districts of the city of Jerusalem." "The Confederates have wasted all the countries of the king. If auxiliaries come this year the countries of the king the lord will be preserved; but if no auxiliaries come the countries of the king my lord are destroyed." These appeals would seem to have been in vain. Khuenaten—Amenophis IV—was expelled from his throne, met a sudden death, and was buried in haste. This becomes evident from a careful study of his recently discovered tomb. Before his burial was complete enemies broke into the tomb, took the mummy from the sarcophagus and tore its wrappings into shreds, destroyed the sarcophagus, and effaced the name and image of his god from the walls of the chamber of the dead. The Egyptian troops are withdrawn from Palestine, and the Confederates conquer Jerusalem. When the Israelites enter Canaan, Jerusalem has become Jebus and is held by the Jebusites, a powerful and warlike tribe of Amorites, and its citadel remained in their power till the reign of David. We have in this fragment of history an explanation of a passage in the prophecy of Ezekiel: "Thus said the Lord God unto Jerusalem; Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite" (Ezek. xvi, 3, 45). The confederacy of Hebron is the same in character as that of which Abraham the Hebrew was the overlord (Gen. xiv, 13). These confederacies were natural and influential and doubtless frequent in early Palestinian history.

We return to a further consideration of the god 'Salim. His character is apparently that of a sun-god, since he is connected with the Babylonian sun-god Uras, the god of Nipur. The etymology of Jerusalem is given in the tablets *Uru-salim*. Uru means "city," and therefore Jerusalem is "the city of the

god 'Salim" and the seat of his special worship. 'Salim—the word is very familiar under the form of the Hebrew *shalôm*, "peace"—is "the god of peace." Here, then, is a most sacred sanctuary, where all feuds are laid aside and all peoples can meet in unity under the protection of "the god of peace." It is appropriate that the priest of 'Salim be raised to higher honors than the ordinary governors of provinces. The reign of Solomon, "the peaceful king," was a reign of peace. Sallimmanu, "the god of peace," was especially honored in Assyria, and the name is found as an element in the names of many ancient kings. It would seem that he bore the character of a fish-god, which fact would point to Lower Babylonia as the original seat of his worship and a possible connection with Ea, the god of culture, represented in human form, but partially inclosed in the body or skin of a fish which hangs down his back and surmounts him with its head. In an inscription we read: "Sallimmanu, the fish, the god of the city of Temen-Sallim, 'the foundation of peace.'" In the time of Shalmaneser II—the name may be translated "O 'Salim, help!"—there was a royal scribe at Sadikan, the modern Arban, who bore the cumbrous name Sallimmanu-nunu-sar-ilani, "Sallimmanu, the fish, is king of the gods." There are other references to this god in Assyria, but we come nearer to the scene of our present studies and note that, in the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, Salamanu was the name of the Moabite king.

Ebed-tob, "servant of Tob," represents a series of names of which the Bible furnishes many examples. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets we meet with Ebed-Ashera, "servant of Ashera." The word *Ebed* as an element of proper names is too frequent in the Bible to require especial mention. With Ebed-tob we may compare Tab-rimon of 1 Kings xv, 18, and Tab-eal of Isa. vii, 6.

We now take up the name Melchizedek. Its last element is Sydyk, the name of an old Phœnician god who, in connection with seven or eight Khabiri, his sons, is the center of a vast, mysterious, and extensive mythology. Ebed-tob employs the word *tsaduk*, "just," in his correspondence, but it is not a native Assyrian word. The only other king of Jerusalem whose name has been preserved—and he also stood at the head of a confederacy of cities—is Adonizedek, who, with other allied

kings, was captured and slain by Joshua. We may translate the names of the two kings of Jerusalem, "Sydyk is my king," and "Sydyk is my lord." We may be justified in the suggestion that the god of Jerusalem may have been worshiped under the names *Zedek*, "the righteous one," or "righteousness," and *Tob*, "the good one," or "goodness," if the latter element have the meaning usually assigned. The word *Zedek* may be purely attributive, and in such case the name of the two kings may be translated, "My king is righteous," or "He is the king of righteousness," and "My lord is righteous," or "He is the lord of righteousness." There are other biblical names which contain the same element. The word occurs in Assyro-Babylonian names, but has evidently been borrowed. In *The Assyrian Chronicle* we have the record, "Tsidqi-ilu of the country of Tuskhan, at home." The date is B. C. 764. The name may be translated: "Sydyk is my god," "The god of righteousness," or "My god is righteous." We also meet with a Babylonian king who bears the name Ammi-zadugga, which, if *zadugga* be the name of a god, we may translate, "Sydyk is my trusted friend;" or, perhaps better, with Professor Sayce we may take the first element in the compound as the name of a god and translate, "Ammi is just." In one of the Minæan inscriptions discovered by Halévy in the south of Arabia mention is made of one 'Ammi-tsadiqa, governor of the district of Ashur and also of the fortress of Zar on the Egyptian frontier. Professor Hommel assigns this inscription to a very early epoch, probably that of the Hyksos domination in Egypt. His appointment was made by the Minæan king Abi-yada'. In another Minæan inscription is found a third variant of the same name, 'Ammi-tsaduq. There is also the name of a King Waqah-il-tsaduq.

The name of Melchizedek is not an invention, but is properly formed of known elements and is placed in an appropriate setting. It is Semitic, but not Assyrian, and may be translated like other Semitic names and yields a similar meaning. Melchizedek is a worshiper of the "most high God," or "God most high"—*El-Elion*—which god may with probability be identified with 'Salim, "the god of peace." This is the first place in which the title "most high" occurs in the Bible. It is interesting to remark that Baalam, another alien from the

family of Abraham, uses the same title. Sanchoniathon, the Phœnician historian, mentions Elion as the name of a Phœnician deity. It has been assumed that Abraham recognized Melchizedek as a worshiper of the true God, but the evidence does not necessitate such a conclusion, except in the same sense in which Paul recognized the Athenians as worshipers of the true God. Melchizedek, "the priest of the most high god," has blessed Abraham and blessed "the most high god" who has delivered his enemies into his hands, and has assumed that this god, whom he describes as "the possessor of heaven and earth," is the God whom Abraham worships. The patriarch does not dispute this view, but when the first opportunity is presented declares that Jehovah is "the most high God." "I have lift up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth"—*Jehovah El-Elion*, "Jehovah, God most high." The force, solemnity, and majesty of the declaration are characteristic of this grandest type of patriarchal gentleman. Jehovah is not a tribal god, but the God of all the families of the earth.

There is peculiar appropriateness in the part which Melchizedek plays in the account of the campaign of Abraham against Chedorlaomer. When the enemy had been defeated and driven from the land, and the conqueror was returning from his brilliant exploit, and the whole country was again at rest and in the full enjoyment of an honorable peace, then it was that the priest of 'Salim, "the god of peace," came forth to meet Abraham and to pronounce upon him his blessing. The bread and wine were for his refreshment after his long and rapid marches, and partly also, possibly, to be used as offerings to the god of peace to whom his success was due. We may understand, furthermore, why Abraham gave tithes of all his spoil. He was within the territorial domain of Jerusalem, and the tithes were due to Melchizedek as the ruling prince, due by virtue of both his kingly and his priestly character. He could demand them as his right, and the laws of war required their payment.

Professor Sayce may be right in attaching especial significance to the use of "my gods" in addressing the king of Egypt. Though "my god" is the more usual expression and shows a practical knowledge of the singular form, the occurrence of "my gods" is too frequent to be accounted for as an individual

peculiarity or extravagance, or yet a mistake on the part of those scribes who were imperfectly acquainted with the Assyrian language. It is not an Egyptian form of expression, but belongs to the language of Canaan. Its connection may be seen in sentences like the following: "I, Su-yardata thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, seven times seven prostrate myself." "I, Malehiel thy servant, the dust of thy feet, at the feet of the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, seven times seven prostrate myself. Word has been sent by the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, to me. Now is health enjoyed by the king my lord, the sun-god who rises from heaven; and verily knows the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, that this is the place of the king my lord which he has intrusted to me." Most elaborate is the introduction of the letter of the governor of Sidon: "To the king my lord, my gods, my sun-god, my king, my lord, speak thus: I, Zimridi, the governor of the city of Sidon, at the feet of my lord, my gods, my king, who is my lord, at the feet of my lord, my gods, my sun-god, my king, my lord, seven times seven prostrate myself." The king of Egypt was not only "the son of the sun," but also the sun-god himself, being completely identified with this divinity; but no Egyptian would address him as "my gods." We do not find this expression in the letters of Ebed-tob, but it is used by the princess Su-yardata and Malehiel and others whose territories are contiguous to his own. It would make the god to whom it is applied absolutely supreme, containing within his own nature and being all attributes and essences of all gods. Familiarity with this usage on the part of the Canaanites may have been preparatory to the appreciation of the Hebrew plural form Elohim, the god who contains within his own nature and being all possible divine attributes and essences. This Semitism, which has called forth so much learned discussion, philological, theological, and rhetorical, certainly antedates the writings of Moses by nearly a century.

We should guard against finding in the monuments confirmations of the Bible where they are questionable or do not exist at all. We recognize the fact that archæological research has not only settled many questions concerning biblical subjects, but has also raised not a few which still await future discover-

ies for their full elucidation. We may, however, call attention to a remarkable coincidence. The Assyrian *Sar 'Salim*, "king of Salem," or "priest of 'Salim," the god of peace, is letter for letter identical with the title which Isa. ix, 6, gives prophetically to the Messiah—*Sar Shalom*, "Prince of Peace."

The information which the Old Testament affords concerning Melchizedek is soon exhausted. The author of Genesis gives his name and office, the seat of his authority, and a single incident in his life. He meets Abraham with bread and wine, blesses him, and receives from him the tithes of the spoil. There is but a single reference elsewhere. One of the Psalms—cx, 4—contains, as from the Lord, the prophecy, "Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek." Paul interprets the passage as pointing to the priesthood of Christ. It is plain, however, that the use which Paul makes of the character and office of Melchizedek is not justified by the Old Testament fragment of his history, if taken alone. He could hardly have been taken as a type of Christ, in illustrating the divine origin and unchangeableness of his priesthood. Much less could Paul have described him as "without father, without mother, without descent, having neither beginning of days, nor end of life; but made like unto the Son of God." Paul must have had access to other sources of information. The only other source of information known even up to the present day is the correspondence preserved in the Tel el-Amarna tablets; but Paul knew as little of these tablets as of the hieroglyphic writings of Uxmal and Palenque. Even had these tablets been known to Paul, he would not, in all probability, have written as he did.

Ebed-tob, the successor of Melchizedek, was not elected to his office by the people, nor by any college of nobles or ecclesiastics; he came not to his position of influence and authority by virtue of belonging to any priestly tribe or family; he was not appointed by any king or high official; he did not usurp the priesthood; he was designated to his office by the oracle of 'Salim, "the god of peace." Melchizedek, like Ebed-tob, was probably the overlord of a confederacy of cities or provinces. He was priest of the same god, appointed to his office by the same divine oracle, and served at the same sanctuary which was established on Mount Moriah. The description of him which Paul presents is not that of the historian. It is such an

account as would be given by an author whose mind has been divinely quickened to recognize spiritual connections and interpret prophetic types, and whose knowledge of the character whose portrait he paints is exact but general, rather than minute and circumstantial. His portrait is true to the facts revealed in the correspondence of the tablets, and these facts explain the whole "conundrum" of Melchizedek. Paul could not have written from the Old Testament history, and he could not have written from information such as the tablets afford, unless this were supplemented from other sources. Whence did Paul derive his knowledge of Melchizedek?

We may now name several priests belonging to "the order of Melchizedek." When Jerusalem appears on the page of history it is already a holy city, the city of 'Salim. Melchizedek is its priest-king, its government being a theocracy. He receives tithes and pronounces his priestly blessing. 'Salim, "the god of peace," is called "the most high god," and is said to be the "possessor of heaven and earth." It is instructive to note that here is the first occurrence of the word "priest" in the Bible, and that the incumbent of the office is alien to the family of Abraham. As we learn from the correspondence of his successor, this priest is selected and consecrated to the priesthood by the oracle of his god, who has his sanctuary on Mount Moriah. Abraham does not directly deny that 'Salim is the true God, but does declare that Jehovah is "God most high." We are not told that Melchizedek offers sacrifices, but we may assume that this is the case.

We are able to supplement this account. About thirty years after the campaign against Chedorlaomer, Abraham visits the old sanctuary on Mount Moriah for the supreme trial of his faith. While at Beer-sheba, Abraham planted a "grove," or tamarisk tree, and called on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God—*Jehovah El-Olam*, "Jehovah, God of Eternity." Perhaps *El-Olam* was the name of a local divinity, or a local name for the Supreme Being, like *El-Elion*. "The God," that is, "this same God," commanded the patriarch to offer his son Isaac as a burnt offering in "the land of Moriah." When he is about to complete the sacrifice by slaying his son upon the altar which he has erected "the Angel of Jehovah," who can be none other than he whom Isaiah calls "the Prince of

Peace," arrests his hand. We may be permitted to hazard the suggestion that Abraham just at this time might have been in danger of adopting the belief of the surrounding heathen tribes and nations, that a human sacrifice, especially the sacrifice of an only son, was peculiarly meritorious and acceptable to God, and that the lesson taught on Mount Moriah might have saved the Abrahamic Church at a most critical period in the very beginning of its history. When Abraham gave to God not only his dearest possession, but all his possessions and himself, any victim suitable and perfect in itself would sufficiently represent this sacrifice. The word *Moriah* means "the vision of Jehovah," or, "the manifestation of Jehovah." Abraham now christens it with a name of similar meaning. *Jehovah-jireh*, "Jehovah will see," or, "Jehovah will provide." All local gods, whether 'Salim or El-Elion or El-Olam, in so far as they are not names of the Supreme Being, must yield to Jehovah, to whom alone worship is to be accorded, even in the very presence of the sanctuary of "the god of peace."

The next mention of the holy city is found in the correspondence of Ebed-tob, and the date is about a hundred years before the Exodus. He is priest of the god 'Salim, who is worshiped on "the mountain of Jerusalem." We have discussed this fragment of history at some length, and need only refer to the subject in this connection.

At the time of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua, Adonizedek was king of Jerusalem and overlord of an Amorite confederacy consisting of the five cities, Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachish, and Eglon. We are not informed as to his priestly functions, but may infer from the name that he was a successor of Ebed-tob. It is probable that, upon the conquest of Jerusalem by the Amorites and Hittites, Adonizedek was confirmed in his office (Josh. x, 1-5).

Another period of three or four hundred years, and we reach the age of David. Because of the sin of David a destroying angel was sent "unto Jerusalem to destroy it." "And the angel of the Lord stood by the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And David lifted up his eyes, and saw the angel of the Lord stand between the earth and the heaven, having a drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem." And the Lord repented of the evil, and the city was

spared, but the pestilence had already swept away seventy thousand men of Israel. The angel of Jehovah commanded David to build "an altar unto the Lord in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite." The threshing floor was purchased of Ornan the Jebusite, and the full price was paid. David, like his great ancestor Abraham, did not use the strange altar of the ancient sanctuary, if indeed this still remained, but erected a new altar, and offered sacrifices thereon unto the Lord. So the hand of the destroying angel was stayed. "At that time when David saw that the Lord had answered him in the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, then he sacrificed there." This holy place was on Mount Moriah, and here Solomon afterward built "the house of the Lord" (2 Sam. xxiv, 10-25; 1 Chron. xxi. 9-30; xxvii, 24; 2 Chron. iii, 1).

As Melchizedek and Ebed-tob were designated to their office by the oracle of the god 'Salim, in like manner David and Solomon were appointed to the throne by the word of the God of Israel, and performed also high priestly functions.

The last member of the order of Melchizedek is Christ, who has entered upon his everlasting priesthood. He belongs not to the tribe of Levi, but to the tribe of Judah. He is the "Sent of God." He is the "Prince of Peace," whose advent is announced as the promise and prophecy of "peace." His last will and testament declares to his sorrowing disciples, "My peace I give unto you." Through conquest he will conduct to perfect, uninterrupted, and everlasting peace. He is "a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

Again we inquire, Whence did the apostle derive that information which enabled him to describe so accurately that "king of Salem" to whom Abraham gave tithes?

J. N. Tradmburgh.

ART. VIII.—THE SEMICENTENNIAL OF THE SCOTCH
FREE CHURCH AND OF ITS MEMORABLE DISRUPTION
CONTROVERSY.

ON the 18th of May, 1893, the day when the next Free Church Assembly meets, will occur the fiftieth anniversary of the famous Disruption of May 18, 1843, the date of the birth or emergence of the Free from the Established Church of Scotland. That was a very remarkable event, one of the most interesting and important in the history of British Protestantism. No wonder that the Free Church proposes to commemorate it with a jubilee which shall duly honor the truly notable epoch. Meanwhile, all intelligent members of other evangelical communions will be pleased, we feel assured, to be put in possession of the material facts in this case.

Owing to the fact that the exact relations of the Scottish Kirk to the State have never been accurately or positively defined they cannot be very definitely understood. It is well known, however, that one of the most important privileges to which the State, in return for the maintenance of the clergy of an establishment, lays claim is the right of what is called patronage; that is, the right of conferring upon those nobles who, as the owners of the estates, are charged with the payment of the salaries of the pastors, the unrestricted right of nominating or "presenting" these pastors to the "livings." Now, however great may be the advantages resulting from a union of the Church and State upon such conditions, it is evident at the outset that these advantages must be far more than counterbalanced by the fact that such a license necessarily leaves the right of choosing pastors—the most sacredly guarded right of all—liable to be committed to men of every degree of imbecility, ignorance, irreligion, and immorality, and hence subjects the people to the dread, not to say fatal, contingency of being conveyed by thousands over to the supervision of some patronage-courting clergyman who knows little about and cares less for the religion he professes to teach. The Scotch Kirk, perceiving early and but too well what evils must flow from such an unrestricted patronage, had taken care not to be defrauded altogether of her right of free self-government, by reserving the

power, in case of dissatisfaction, to veto the nomination of the patron. This privilege of rejecting the patron's nominee remained for ages unquestioned. At the close of the last century, however, resulting in a great measure, it is to be presumed, from the low state of religion among them at that time, a strong antipathy on the part of a large proportion of the ministry of the Kirk began to be publicly expressed for that popular taste, or choice, which had hitherto stood guard over the liberties of the Church, and which, whenever and wherever it is allowed to express itself, gives its testimony so unequivocally in favor of the purity and warmth by which a truly evangelical ministry is ever distinguished. At length, indeed, it was decided by the highest judicatory in the Church, the General Assembly, that the concurrence of the people should no longer be regarded as an indispensable element in the formation of the pastoral tie, but that, on the other hand, the presentation of the patron alone, with entire disregard for any opposition on the part of the people, however prevalent or strong, should have effect; superseding thus, and very ruthlessly, a usage authorized and held as sacred by all the standards of the Church, from the Reformation down. Alarmed by this grossly unjust and unwarrantable assumption of power on the part of their ecclesiastical authorities, those in the Church, both ministers and people, who still remained loyal to her true interests and longed to see introduced the principles and practices of an earlier and purer period, engaged at once in active preparations for making a determined and obstinate resistance to this encroachment upon their liberties, which would be fatal unless arrested, and for eventually throwing off altogether this yoke of patronage, which became every day more intolerably galling as its chains daily became more firmly riveted. As the result of this popular reaction the liberal party in the Church was in due time reinforced by a class of men whose energy, talents, and piety were successful in restoring to the evangelical party the balance of power in the General Assembly. Hardly, however, had this victory been achieved when another form of opposition was developed, which was even more formidable than that which had just been so successfully overcome.

Guided by the precedent already established by the General Assembly, the civil courts determined henceforth to maintain

at all hazards the unrestricted right of patronage. The evangelical party began now to assume a more definite shape and to give its energy a still more specific direction. The conservative wing of it, at the head of which was Dr. Thomas Chalmers, strenuously opposed the abolition of patronage altogether, yet demanded that it should be so limited, regulated, or restrained that the conscientious convictions and religious susceptibilities of Christian congregations should never more be violated; that, in a word, an effectual provision be made for all the future against the unfeeling outrages which, in the exercise of a reckless, high-handed patronage reigning uncontrolled, had so often been perpetrated. The radical wing took for its first note of assault that the compulsory support of religious institutions is inconsistent with the nature of religion, the spirit of the Gospel, the express appointment of Jesus Christ, and the rights of man, its tendencies as exhibited in its effects being to secularize religion, to promote hypocrisy, perpetuate error, produce infidelity, destroy the unity and purity of the Church, and to disturb the peace and order of civil society.

Such was the attitude of the evangelical party when the famous Auchterarder case came up, a case which, from the fact that it was generally understood to involve the constitutionality or legality of the usage of rejecting the patron's nominee, awakened a wide and very profound interest. A presentation of one Mr. Young was issued by the Earl of Kinnoull to the vacant parish of Auchterarder. After the former had duly preached on trial it was decided, on the part of the congregation, by a vote of six to one, that the candidate was unacceptable. Mr. Young appealed. Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly, however, in turn, sustained the decision of the congregation. Appealing then from the ecclesiastical to the civil courts, the redoubtable nominee brought an action against the Presbytery before the supreme civil court, the Court of Session. Here, on the 18th of May, 1838, it was decided that the rejection of Mr. Young by the various church tribunals was illegal and in violation of duty. In nearly one year from that date the Auchterarder case was heard before the House of Lords. After the delivery of Lord Brougham's opinion confirming the decision of the Court of Session the appeal was finally dismissed.

The principle which, in this important finding of the House

of Lords, seemed now to be finally and decisively defined and settled was that, whereas a voluntary Church may regulate and decide in reference to its own officers and be separate from and in no wise subject to civil authority, a Church preferring to participate in the advantages of an establishment, enjoying all the immunities and privileges growing out of a connection with the State, must not claim exemption from the obligations which that relation implies, among which is that of yielding implicit obedience to certain decisions of the civil courts. Preferring to dissolve at once their connection with the State rather than make the required concession to her demands—so utterly and so manifestly repugnant to the whole spirit and letter of the ancient constitution of the Church—without a murmur, as also without debate, the entire nonintrusion or Free Church party resolved to withdraw from the Establishment. On the 18th of May, 1843, while the General Assembly was sitting in Edinburgh, more than four hundred ministers solemnly arose, withdrew, repaired to a hall of their own, and in four days had formally and legally completed the disruption and organized and established the Free Church of Scotland.

It may be questioned whether since the days of the apostles an event involving more of moral sublimity has ever occurred. Let it be remembered that in taking the step above described these four hundred and seventy-four clergymen, and all for Christ's sake, voluntarily renounced the emoluments and preferments of a wealthy Establishment, and thereby accordingly subjected themselves to all the inconveniences, privations, hardships, poverty, and persecutions which almost invariably pursue a dissenting body. They returned to their various fields of labor with not one single church edifice or parsonage in all the land which they could properly call their own—a scene which, it is said, drew tears from even Lord Jeffrey, extorting from him the confession that no country but Scotland could have exhibited a spectacle so morally sublime, and all for the keeping of a good conscience.

Dr. Hanna, in his *Memoirs of Dr. Chalmers*, speaking of the hardships incurred by many of these dissenting ministers and their devoted congregations, eloquently writes :

Many ministers were driven from the loveliest homes, compelled to study in garrets, and to sleep frequently with nothing between

them and the open heavens but the cold slate. The privation and exposure were often too much for them, and they sunk to their graves martyrs for those great principles for which they had abandoned their earthly all. . . . Here and there the hand of tyranny was stretched out; and from the church and churchyard, from the bare hillside, the grove and public highways, on all of which they sought to assemble and to worship God, ministers and people were driven, till they took their station within high-water mark on the lone seabeach, their feet upon the damp and tangled seaweed, the roll of the breakers, whose spray the breeze drove over them, keeping time to their solemn psalmody.

Professor W. Garden Blaikie, D.D., having himself been one of that heroic band that fifty years ago thus surrendered everything for the truth's sake with only the very darkest prospects for the future, writing in a late number of the *New York Observer* concerning this same most soul-stirring event, says :

You can hardly comprehend a state of things where, the whole land being in the hands of a few aristocratic owners, it was often impossible to get a site for church or manse, and where, in bleakest winter, congregations had to worship on the public road or on the hillside, and ministers were glad of a single room in a rough cottage, so that they might live among their people. Many a minister could look for nothing but poverty, privation, and persecution.

But what, it may be asked, is the status of this Free Church to-day? Dr. Blaikie—who, by the way, is one of the thirty-four surviving ministers of the four hundred and seventy-four that a half century ago severed their connection with the State, Dr. McCosh, of Princeton, being another—Dr. Blaikie writes :

That fifty years would see our Church doubled and its ministers enjoying a provision not very much less than that which they left, with a full equipment of churches, manses, colleges, normal schools, libraries, bursaries, and what not ; our income for foreign missions increased tenfold ; our colonies recruited, and many stations provided on the continent of Europe ; not a little done at home to reclaim the lapsed and provide for increasing population, was more than any one dreamed of in his most sanguine hours. The promise of compensation for sacrifices incurred for the sake of Christ has been so amply fulfilled that some imagine there could have been little sacrifice in the case. But this is unfair ; so far as the eye of sense could guide us the leap at the disruption was a leap in the dark, into poverty, difficulty, and misery ; but then, as ever, faith had its reward, and the more prosperous circumstances in which we now are simply afford fresh proof of

God's faithfulness to them that trust him, and are evidence that now, as much as in the days of Abraham, his memorial is Jehovah-jireh—"the Lord will provide."

The whole Church of God on earth cannot but feel most fervently thankful for such a magnificent example of self-sacrifice and disinterested toil on the part of this grand Church, congratulate it on its truly monumental success, and wish for it a most happy time in connection with its forthcoming jubilee. Meanwhile, not a few of the most illustrious names that have ever graced the annals of the Christian pulpit or adorned the records of religious authorship were identified with the movement. Easily chief among these is Dr. Chalmers, the orator of the cause. Next comes Dr. Robert Smith Candlish, who may be characterized as the statesman of the movement. Then we have the gifted, incomparable Guthrie, who, more than any other man, by tongue and pen, raised funds for building manses for the destitute Free Church ministers. And who has not read the masterly sermons of Dr. Thomas Guthrie? Dr. Norman McLeod, one of the brightest lights of the Scottish pulpit, was one of the representative men of the Free Church. But the popular favorite, as well as the pamphleteer and newspaper writer of this enterprise, was that marvelous stonecutter and self-made geologist, Hugh Miller. The tractate of the latter, addressed to Lord Brougham, reviewing the argument of the great speech in which that eminent statesman supported the finding of the House of Lords, was the means of introducing this layman and commoner to the people of Scotland and designating him as one eminently calculated to act a conspicuous part in the coming struggle. It is said that, at the time of the triumphant exodus of the Free Church, already described, when her ministers and members in the full flush of victory assembled in Tanfield Hall, Canonmills, none of her defenders in the vast and animated throng, among whom Chalmers and Candlish stood conspicuous, elicited plaudits longer or louder than did Hugh Miller when seen lifting his stalwart and noble head among the people.

R. H. Howard

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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OPINION.
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THE supernatural is continually inviting. As a theme of meditation it occupies perhaps the most constant place in intellectual processes; in its extent of influence the wide race dreams of its felicities and is ravished with its entrancing visions; as a tenet of formal theology its statement is indispensable to a perfect code of religious doctrine. On which latter point Max Müller has well declared that without a belief in immortality "religion surely is like an arch resting on one pillar, like a bridge ending in an abyss"—a declaration which needs no modification save to the extent of saying that the arch and the bridge under such circumstances would be of less stability than is implied. But there can be no controversy as to the universality of man's belief in the supernatural. The nations which hold the truth of the Christian system are not peculiar in this respect. The story is too familiar to the scholar to necessitate particular review. Alike in the sacred books of the Hindoos, among the early Egyptians and Polynesians, in the religious system of the Persians, and in the practical belief of the Chinese, as well as among the Hebrews and their successors—the Christian Church—has immortality been the hope of men. No fact in human history is more clear than the attitude of the nations upon this point of faith. Ancient or modern, barbaric or educated, pagan or Christian, they have united in the confident anticipation of a hereafter. However at variance in their religious tenets, as exponents of the different religious systems of the earth, they have been essentially a unit in such assumptions as the existence of a superior deity, the survival of the soul, and a place of blessedness for the departed. No chapter in comparative religion is more fascinating than that containing the blissful dream of a future world which has buoyed the souls of the succeeding nations of the globe. All literature is crowded with these fancies, hopes, and aspirations of men for immortality. Nor is belief in the supersensible degrading. As a moving factor in the elevation of human life no confidence of the soul is more influential than faith in immortality. There is no inspiring quality in skepticism. A negation has never turned upside down the established faiths of the world. It is a poor watchword for battle; it does not send the life blood bounding in enthusiasm through the veins of its disciples; nor for it are men glad to lay down their lives and die. But the thought of personal immortality has entered into the largest performances of the race. As an influencing force upon human thinking, resolve, enthusiasm, it has led men's souls whithersoever it would. Always has it roused to extreme zeal, supported men in the dungeon and at the stake, made the lone missionary to put ten thousand to flight, given a rainbow hue to the falling tears of sorrow, and

lit the bed of death with glory. If the doctrine of immortality be a mistake, as some would have us think, we are confronted with the inexplicable fact of the ennobling of the race through a madman's dream. If it be true—as the consensus of human judgment declares it to be—it should shape every thought and action with its molding power.

WE are favored or afflicted with several visitations from the Orient, more or less religious. An American consul to a Mohammedan country, who was not provided with any religion to speak of, becoming vaguely aware that it is a respectable thing for a man to have a religion of some kind, has decided that Mohammedanism is good enough for him, and brings a new convert's enthusiasm home with him, yearning to ensnare us all in the meshes of the Mohammedan web and substitute in the home of Western civilization the faith of the crescent for that of the cross. His step-ladder is not long enough to enable him to reach up and set back the hands on the dial of human progress. He is but a momentary amusement and a target for newspapers on the lookout for a chance to shoot folly as it flies, having for their motto, "What fools we mortals be!" Theosophy, too, "the Wisdom Religion," visits us from afar from time to time in the persons of such missionaries as Madame Blavatsky, Colonel Olcott, Mrs. Anne Besant. It also hails from the dreamy Orient and comes to convert the Occident. With the mild delirium of hasheesh swimming in its eyes it feebly stretches out its soft and inefficient hands to direct and push on the intense interests and urgent affairs of this practical land. It attempts to bring reverie to bear upon action and achievement. It produces a weak literature, attempts limited philanthropies, establishes a few sewing schools, soup kitchens, homes for children, *crèches*, Sunday schools, clubs for working men and women, all on a slim foundation and with prospects of duration as precarious as morning dew. It calls conventions, holds talk-exhibitions, and is to have, we are told, two whole days in the Parliament of Religions at the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago for expounding its profundities. It advertises its expectation of universal victory which is to be won by "the force of the few, the spiritual force of quality, and not by the brute force of numbers." Theosophy, as it calls itself, were unworthy of notice in these pages but for the fact that it serves as well as some more pretentious and somewhat intellectually respectable systems to suggest certain facts long and widely observed. Flimsy as it is, it illustrates and typifies the character and value of every attempt to do without a creed. It roams at large in a region without survey or boundaries. Its discourses are geography without maps or outlines, geometry without figures or propositions. It pretends to believe something while pledging itself to refrain from distinctly saying what. The moment one says "I believe," and extends the sentence further by putting an object after that transitive verb, that moment he has a creed, he has constructed a formula of faith. Theosophy to the utmost of its power abstains from doctrines, and those which it cannot avoid having are strictly esoteric. If a theoso-

phist has a creed he keeps it carefully hidden. The truth he claims to possess is, on his representation, so deadly dangerous to all other faiths, and is so completely covered from sight, as to suggest to the malignant mind of a prowling enemy the possibility of having him arrested and locked up under the statute against carrying concealed weapons. "The Wisdom Religion" does not propose to give away its secrets even in the Parliament of Religions. Its participation in the religious and ethical congress at Chicago is not to involve it in any declaration of principles, not to commit the Theosophical Society or any of its members to any form of belief or any creed or dogma. What it knows about "psychic laws and phenomena" it will not publicly tell. Its exposition will not expose anything—except unintentionally its own emptiness. "Occult" appears to be theosophy's favorite word. It professes to give tuition in "occultism"—occult arts, occult practices, occult psychical developments. The human mind under its influence drifts drowsily upon a lotus-eater's voyage, unable to tell cloud from coast, mountains from mist. As clearly, though not as fully as some stronger teachings, theosophy illustrates that so much of true or good as appears under other names is included in Christianity; that whatever of religious value is taught from other than Christian quarters is better taught by Christianity, and that whatever worthy and needful work is attempted by nonchristian hands under antichristian schemes has already been done, or can be accomplished more efficiently and perfectly by the forces marshaled under the banner of the cross. All that is valuable or admirable in such teachings is a plagiarism from Jesus Christ. Not only is it true that theosophy mumbles and mutters instead of articulating; it is also a fact that in all the good it contains we hear no resident and original voices, but only remote and confused echoes of that authoritative and informing Voice once heard from Sinai and the Mount of Olives. There is only space to add that this moonbeam named theosophy, reflected from a sun invisible to those who group themselves to bask in its cold plagiarisms, illustrates as well as some more articulate and influential thinking the fact that whatever antagonizes Christianity is close akin to paganism and naturally affiliates with heathendom, preferring to grope in the dimness of ungoepled civilizations or even in barbaric darkness. Theosophy, not content with asserting the parity of all religions, affirms the superiority of the Hindoo faiths over Christianity. It is the civilization of ancient India against the twentieth century. The future belongs not to the past.

AGAIN does the Convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai yield up to Christian scholarship a treasure of inestimable worth. Tischendorf's discovery in its ancient abbey of the famous Sinaitic manuscript, in the year 1859, gave to the world of letters the entire New Testament in Greek, under the date of the fourth century; the recent finding of a palimpsest, which proved to be an early copy of the Syriac version of the four gospels, deepens the conviction that St. Catharine's Convent is "an immense storehouse for early Christian literature," and must send a thrill of joy to

the hearts of all New Testament scholars. The strange discovery of this manuscript has already been graphically told. That the nineteenth-century art of photography, in its resistless zeal, should have found its way into the musty abode of monks and brought therefrom the reproduction of certain pages of this ancient palimpsest is a new contribution of science to religion. So are all the forces of nature and mind—celestial and terrestrial, inanimate and alive, good and evil—to lend their aid to the triumph of Christianity in the earth. But it is with the statement that this newly found manuscript omits the last twelve verses of the gospel of St. Mark that we are most deeply concerned. The claim is by no means a new one that these verses are an interpolation dating from one of the early centuries. Remembering the existence of this theory, the revisers of the New Testament have inserted in the margin of the text the statement that “the two oldest Greek manuscripts, and some other authorities, omit from verse nine to the end.” The discovery of the new Syriac version will probably give a fresh impulse to the discussion as to the genuineness of these verses; and it is a discussion whose scope we would not now anticipate. Yet we may bethink ourselves at this early stage of what are at least sentimental reasons which would call for the retention of these last verses of St. Mark. Devout and obedient souls, on recurring Easter Sabbaths, would be perplexed by the hiatus in the resurrection story found in this portion of the chapter, and would grieve over its excision. An interpolation though it could be proven, in what impressive simplicity is there recorded Christ's first appearance to Mary Magdalene, her message to the disciples, and the Lord's manifestation of himself to the Emmaus pilgrims! It is not strange that credulous faith should cling to this scripture. In its simple majesty the reader finds it hard to believe it spurious. Or what a clarion call to duty has the fifteenth verse of the chapter been, “Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature!” Through the earlier ages of Christian evangelism we know not how many hesitant workers have heard the voice of the great Master of souls speaking in this solemn passage. In the pioneer history of Methodism the wandering circuit-rider has fortified his soul with its authoritative mandate. And in these last years of Christian ambassadorship how many have found its edict an obstacle over which they might not pass to secular work, and, as if they heard the very voice of their risen Lord in sacred command, have renounced the world for the ministry of reconciliation! Critical scholarship may, it is true, discover reasons for the elimination of these last verses in St. Mark. But untutored faith nevertheless is rash enough to cry out for their continuance as a part of the canonical gospels, and will always find the presence of the risen Jesus in their record.

LIKE a foregleam of the millennial concord seems the anticipated gathering of the World's Parliament of Religions at Chicago, in September. As arranged by the Exposition Committee on Religious Congresses, unless the realization shall strongly belie the anticipation, the Parliament bids fair

to become the most famous religious gathering in the world's history. Its programme, beginning with the fundamental doctrine of God and sweeping through the whole gamut of theistic, anthropological, and philanthropic themes, is worthy in its stateliness of so grand a gathering. In its *personnel* it promises no less to be the marked religious congress of the centuries. From the Russian, Bulgarian, and Armenian Churches delegates will probably come. Buddhist scholars, "representing both the Northern and Southern Church," are expected to be in attendance. Parsees from Bombay, Moslem scholars from India, Hindoo representatives, a Confucian scholar sent by the Chinese government, a high priest of Shintoism, and the most able representatives of the many branches of Christianity will grace the occasion with their presence and their scholarship. August the company and bewildering the range of their discussions! But the presence of Christianity in this heterogeneous gathering will particularly interest the observer. Accustomed in the pursuit of its great mission to enter many doors and to sit at the firesides of the most diverse members of the human family, it is now to meet the many religions of the earth in formal assembly and to contend for its belief before the gathered world. Yet in the presence of Buddhist, Moslem, and Parsee, Christianity may lift its head in confidence. Its doctrines are such as the reason approves and the heart commends. In its theistic teachings and its emphasis of human dignity no religious system of the world besides is its equal. Nor are the performances of Christianity altogether in discord with its theories. Holding to the value and necessity of worship, it has in all lands raised its altars whereon men may offer heart-sacrifices to the triune God. Emphasizing the renewing power of the Gospel, it has reformed the face of the continents and made old things new. Believing in the inestimable value of every human soul, though living in base surroundings, it has built its asylums, refuges, homes, hospitals, and schools in the midst of the world's deepest degradation. Not that the record of the Church is unspotted. There are too many sullied pages in the story of her progress. Because of the jealousies, strifes, and formalism that has marked her history she may well feel herself to be an unprofitable servant. Yet if performance be the standard of comparison no religious system represented at the World's Parliament will wear laurels so bright. Nor has any faith there to be present as great a hope for the future. A merely philosophic observer, though he be not a Christian devotee, must feel the force of this position. No other religion of the world is so marked by the characteristics of inward purification, disinterested benevolence, or satisfying quality. If there be any force in these excellences they must finally win the victory. It is probable that Christianity has little to learn from Hindooism, Confucianism, and the rest. Yet she should have an open eye to this possibility and be willing to be taught by any of these oriental systems. But it is certainly the fact that she has instructions for the ancient religions of the East as to her beneficent doctrines and her benign spirit; and thus to see face to face will be one of the inestimable benefits of this expected Parliament.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.

EDITORIAL SALUTATORY.

To him upon whom the Church, through its constituted authority, has seen fit to lay this editorial responsibility the present seems a somewhat solemn juncture for the advent of a new editor in the office of the *Methodist Review*. The shadow of death lies upon the threshold we are bidden to cross, reminding us that this office door opens into eternity. Two men in succession have laid down editorial work at this table at the summons of death; two strong and cunning right hands have grown nerveless here. Scarcely silent are the echoes of memorial eulogies over the deeply lamented departure of Dr. Mendenhall, whose conduct of the *Review* for four years was such as to induce the General Conference to return him with enthusiasm by a large vote to a second quadrennium. The rugged, ruddy face and shaggy white head of Dr. Curry, a fine Carlylean subject for a study in color by a portrait painter, are still so little faded from the Church's consciousness that it would scarcely startle us to see the gaunt form rise and hear the nervous and incisive voice resume discussion where it was left off. So powerfully alive and pervasive was he that debaters are not yet entirely solid in the confidence inspired by the assumption that he is no longer here to answer them. If by any miracle he should reappear in this sanctum and claim the right to fill out his unexpired term the present intruder would submit without a syllable of protest and retire as far as possible into the region whence he came.

In addition to the subduing thoughts thus inevitably occurring to one about to enter on a position twice made vacant by death, it will not be deemed strange that to us, sitting down to appointed work in this fourth-floor office, the power of a personal friendship brings to fresh and vivid remembrance that eminent servant of God and the Church, Mr. John M. Phillips, a strong, wise, judicious man, essentially great, to whom, with others who might be named, this stately and commodious building, housing for a century to come the *Review* and other publications of Methodism, is in large degree a monument, the completion of which his eyes saw not; for while the hammers of the workmen were still sounding "God's finger touched him and he slept," honored of all men.

Conscious of these memorial shadows on this office and this building, we enter on our first experience in taking up a dead man's task. Accustomed only to living predecessors, we have sometimes availed ourselves of their experience by consulting with them. With the single exception of Dr. O. H. Tiffany, predecessor at St. James's Church, New Brunswick, N. J., all whom we have immediately followed in any position are still alive. In our present place, however, we cannot counsel with any who have occupied it, all being now numbered with

Those faithful souls who, earning God's discharge,
Have passed triumphant over time's dim marge
Into the perfect peace, the life more large.

Dr. Mendenhall did his work with splendid bravery under the painful disability of increasing invalidism, suffering while he worked, the disease which was gradually consuming him lending a peculiar fiery intensity and extraordinary brilliancy to his mental action. Dr. Curry spent the waning strength of his sinewy and vigorous life upon the *Review*; the only man in our knowledge ever elected to any place at the age of seventy-five on a call the most distinct note in which was a demand for a young man. One man there is who will long remain most completely identified in the mind of the Church with this *Review*. The name and fame of Whedon fill more than a quarter of a century in the history of this office with splendor. Twenty-eight volumes of the *Quarterly* are a rich treasure-house of his matchless editorial work; and many years must pass, and generations that knew him not must take possession of the scene, before the Church can cease to long for another Whedon. President Raymond, of Wesleyan, truly says, "The touch of his pen was electric, and sent an intellectual thrill through Methodism with every number of the *Review*." In the background of the recollection of those still among us who have been longest on the stage of life appear the broad-domed brow, wide-surveying mind, and fearless spirit of McClintock, a type of man to whom one wonders why the latter half of the nineteenth century has not produced in Methodism a larger number of approximations.

Such are the men who, without bequeathing us their great brains, acquired skill, or accumulations of knowledge, have left us the formidable task of treading in their footsteps. Charles Sumner, in his closing days, expressed to a confidential friend regret that the learning and experience obtained by his long life of laborious study and severe self-discipline could not be transferred to some survivor for the continued service of mankind. A newcomer to this office has reason for deploring that the rarest property is intransmissible: the skilled master workman dies and takes his skill with him. If the *Review* office had as an endowment all the power, intelligence, and culture which it has held in the past, of what an estate the editor would now be administrator! But in all places the world, as to such riches, is forever beginning life over again in poverty.

Whedon's leather-covered, iron-framed chair remains here; but sitting in Whittier's seat at Holderness last summer did not make a poet, nor did the chair of an heroic martyr in the cause of human freedom increase our stock of courage. We have vainly searched this office for the dashing fountain-pen, copiously fluent, which made so sharp a mark with its diamond point upon the editorial pages of the *Review* during the last quadrennium. We are informed that the owner took it away with him to the General Conference last May and has not sent it back; so that a quill, which is softer and requires to be frequently dipped, must now do the work. Our predecessors seem to have been careful to leave us neither their genius nor their implements.

In the administration of President R. B. Hayes a cabinet minister, in whose office hung a number of portraits, said: "When my integrity needs strengthening I look up at Washington; when my backbone wants

stiffening I turn to Stanton; and when I lack patience I take a good look at Lincoln." In this office hang no portraits, but the memory of great men gone must admonish all occupants, as Henry Martyn's picture spoke to Charles Simeon, "Be serious, be in earnest, don't trifle."

While the past of the *Review* thus shadows the newcomer with solemnity there are, also, in the immediate circumstances attending his accession, some peculiar elements calculated to sober any sensitive mind. Usually the selection of an editor to this office occurs at the General Conference, along with numerous other elections of perhaps greater popular interest, and, in the press of manifold business, is but an incident attracting no universal, or at least no prolonged, attention. The appointee slips quietly into his place, comparatively unobserved. In the present case the approach of the February meeting of the Book Committee found the Church sufficiently at leisure from other interests to give particular attention to the editorial vacancy in the *Review*, and an almost universal discussion of the needs of this office ensued. Few committees have received so large an assortment of gratuitous, yet justly interested, advice. In some of the Church periodicals symposia were invited, and a long list of eminent men called upon to enumerate the qualifications necessary to fill their ideal of the perfect *Review* editor. To a certain quiet observer who supposed himself unlikely to be molested by the election it seemed that the Book Committee must take one of two courses—either turn the symposium into an editorial syndicate and commit the *Review* to its charge, or, with the published demands of the Church before them, announce, "The man described in the order is not to be found; we therefore suspend the publication of the *Review* until the Church can grow the man."

The best equipped and boldest, unless a colossal egotist, might well shrink from stepping into sight in the focus of such concentrated critical scrutiny and alongside the impossible standard which has been set up. The authorities who constructed the composite ideal also declared that the man to be elected at Chicago should not be at liberty to decline. "The summons must be imperative, no matter what pulpit or chair it empties." On the other hand, an admonitory editorial voice nearer by sent out in the very week of the election this solemn warning to the appointee, whoever he should be: "All over this land in the pastorates of the churches that settle their ministers, in the bishopric" (names not given), "in college chairs, in official positions, are men with heavy hearts, who often sigh for the things they left behind and wish in the depths of their souls that they had had the resolution to say 'Nay' to the well-meaning tempter who led them from the work in which—until he came—they felt supremely blest." Editors are not specified among these wretched victims of remorse, but are manifestly included. These confusing expressions and the situation of which they are a part have caused the writer to recall the words of one who, assigned to work for which he felt himself insufficient, wrote, in 1836, "I beheld terror and dismay arrayed with acceptance, and I saw them arrayed with a refusal to accept."

The object of the Book Committee's choice, aware of an atmospheric

pressure of public demand sufficient to produce suffocation, receives into his hands a subscription list swollen under the last administration to unprecedented dimensions, difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. In addition there is the feeling of regret in the Church over its failure to secure for this editorial chair the services of Dr. Henry A. Buttz, the honored President of Drew Theological Seminary.

To any who may be surprised at the latest selection we offer with sincere sympathy our personal solution of the mystery. The Book Committee, laudably cherishing a high ideal, having chosen an editor last September on the sole consideration of preeminent fitness and acknowledged scholarship, had the experience of receiving from him a declination necessitated by the needs of the position he has so long and ably filled. Other men naturally thought of and named for the editorship were too firmly rooted in places of prime importance, with critical interests dependent on their remaining, to justify the committee in risking a repetition of the September history. Thus it came to pass that, as often happens in human affairs, an endeavor which began with a pursuit of the ideal finally submitted to considerations of availability and conscripted a man from a pastoral position which any one of a hundred men could fill. To any perplexed friend of the *Review*, if such there be, who at present knows no other reason for the Book Committee's action, we beg leave to tender the use of this, our private theory, in explanation of what to him may appear inscrutable.

The official call of the Church found the present incumbent settled in an attractive pastorate under the eaves of a university, with free access to large libraries, reading rooms, and varied courses of lectures, affording welcome opportunity through four prospective years for wide reading, congenial study, and mental ripening, feeling no need of more conspicuous place nor craving for more arduous responsibilities amid severe demands. It is not upon his own opinion, but upon the expressed judgment of others, official and unofficial, that he ventures to attempt the duty assigned him. Not having recommended himself for this work, his responsibility begins and will end with doing the best he can in a delicate, difficult, and exacting place.

It is proper that one of the first acts of this pen should be to record that during the interim since the death of Dr. Mendenhall the *Review* has not suffered by the absence of an editor-in-chief, its management having been conducted with admirable skill by the Rev. Arthur B. Sanford, M.A., and its editorial pages enriched by much material from his practiced pen.

Taking up unexpectedly an unfamiliar work, it is impossible that we should have plans sufficiently matured for announcement. Inasmuch as the character of a periodical, however directed by studied adaptation to the needs of its constituency, must in great measure reflect the editorial personality and be determined by his peculiar proclivities and powers, it seems probable that the Mendenhall *régime* cannot be repeated, the present occupant being conscious of not possessing some of the most striking qualities which characterized that quadrennium. As to the desires of the constituency, we are impressed that, if the ideal editor who has been com-

positively portrayed in the denominational journals were here, he would be at a loss to know precisely what is wanted of him, for the Church itself cannot tell, or at least has not defined, what it wishes the *Review* to be. Not only is there no agreement of opinion, but absolutely antipodean things are suggested. A college president writes, "You come to your task with so large a supply of printed advice that you cannot miss the road to success." The advice referred to is appalling in mass and bewildering in variety, and the degree of consentaneity may be inferred from these two sample statements: "The *Review* should be made a quarterly publication;" "The *Review* should be issued monthly." The one requisite editorial attribute, the necessity of which seems to stand out most conspicuously by the combination of opinion, is omniscience.

Self-knowledge comes slowly and is apt to be imperfect. An oculist fitted glasses to other people's eyes for thirty years, looking at the radiant testing lines almost every day, without detecting an astigmatism in his own eyes which is believed to have been present most of those years. Yet we believe the record corroborates the report of self-knowledge that the new incumbent does not in anything belong to the class of brilliant beginners, but has a habit of proceeding by gradual methods which may, it is hoped, prove cumulative. Nor is he endowed with a temperament perilously oversanguine. The uncertainties besetting entrance upon an untried sphere recall the maxim of Solon: "Call no man happy till he dies." A well-known man, whose life achievements were not small and whose words were hungered for by the civilized world, said, "My father always wrote with the angel of hope looking over his shoulder, but I never expected to succeed in anything I undertook." An English historian, nearing the end of his five-volume task, wrote to a friend, "I work with scarcely an intermission from 7 A. M. to 7 P. M. I have armed myself with all philosophy for the event of a failure. When I compare my book with what I think history ought to be I am dejected and ashamed." It is comforting to observe that the work concerning which Macaulay thus wrote in 1848 has not yet outlived its usefulness or lost its place. Dr. Whedon told a near friend that, when he sent out his first number of the *Quarterly* in 1856, he ventured it into uncertainty between hope and fear, having no definite idea as to its quality and suitability, nor confident opinion how it would strike the mind of the Church; and added that no man is competent to be a trustworthy judge of his own work. So strong and clear and calm a man as Whedon sat in his office not knowing what the verdict would be, until the echoes of the issue had time to come back to him. Yet doubtless after public comment had spoken he was competent to criticise the verdict.

What quality of editorial matter may be possible the future will develop. That it will be uniform is not likely. Most men have times of lacking full possession of what wits they have, and forced work, done in hours of cerebral weariness and mental ineptitude, must show signs of superficiality. Whatever ideals may inspire and rule the editorial pages we shall not aim at quantity, being persuaded that in a periodical like this a

pen that pauses because of a mind that meditates is better than writing *currente calamo*. The editor may sometimes venture into the contributors' columns, while other pens may occasionally furnish editorial materials.

Endowed undoubtedly with a fair share of the average human genius for blundering, reinforced by the inexperience of a novice, we shall, in spite of efforts at prudence, probably purchase wisdom at some cost, and become more deeply impressed than ever with the superiority of calm afterthought over the judgment of the moment. Forbearance during his apprenticeship toward one who is set to learn a new trade may fairly be asked from those whose duty or disposition is to criticise. The mastering of unfamiliar details of practical management is unfavorable, while it lasts, to purely editorial work. As the joiner of Antæus was rational in no other place but his own shop, so one in a new environment is unlikely to be at his best for serene and sound thinking until the place becomes somewhat homelike and grows to seem his own so far, at least, that he loses the feeling of an interloper expecting the return of the proper owner.

It is probably known that the gladiatorial propensity does not predominate in the new editor; yet his life has been devoted to the study of Christian truth and its defenses; and, without affirming or implying anything as to the present case, it may be permissible to address to the atmosphere the impersonal remark that here and there in the world it has been noticed that a simple sense of duty may prove adequate upon occasion to make a sufficient soldier of a man who has no militant proclivities.

If, owing to the habits of more than twenty years in the pastorate, together with a strong ancestral infusion, the preaching strain comes out unduly, it will not be surprising. If the solemn theologic mind shall be offended at the creeping in at first of something in lighter literary vein among the serious themes which custom has prescribed for the traditional *Church Review*, it is possible that such offense may be less frequent as the manager becomes a sadder and a wiser man.

If Dryasdust, opening the *Review*, notices any exuberance due to lingering youthfulness, he may check his stern impatience and comfort himself with the reflection that this will probably be tamed in the treadmill of routine; and if any capacity of learning be left in us, experience, aided by various auxiliaries, will doubtless sow some seed of graver wisdom in the furrows which after a while time and anxiety may plough.

For the literary countenance to be "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought" seems to many the proper and canonical thing, but is it wholly a misfortune if a healthy vitality occasionally paints from within upon the cheek an innocent unnecessary flush? If some day in spring, when "the lapwing gets himself another crest," a sentence on these pages shall imitate Aaron's rod and bud or even burst into bloom, we plead for it that it be not classed with worldly vanities, counted reprobate, and cut off in its sins. God's world is enormously guilty of blooming.

Our present conception regards it as the chief function of this office to concentrate the brains and scholarship of Episcopal Methodism upon the pages of the *Review*, the editor being the servant of the Church to invite

herein a perpetual convention of the highest abilities. From the first Methodism has been characterized by exceptional mental vigor. The amount of studious and learned scholarship increases yearly. The literary possibilities of our Church are large and varied. Without reflecting upon previous management or guaranteeing the future, it may be confessed that the literary wealth of the denomination has not yet been poured into the *Review* as fully as is desirable; and, without depreciating the great importance of other publications, it may be said that the *Review* is entitled to receive, as it is expected to furnish, the richest fruits of the trained minds of the Church. The pages of non-Methodist periodicals are observed to contain powerful and brilliant articles from Methodist pens. The right of authors to use other than denominational channels for reaching the public mind is not to be denied, yet it should be possible for the home market to claim and obtain these articles. An officer of the general Church writes, "I have prayed for Methodism, that culture, scholarship, sincere truth-finding, and biblical criticism of a humble Christian spirit might come to our best literature." We invite the pactolian streams of erudition and culture, now accumulating head or diverted into other channels, to turn their current this way and drop their gold upon these pages. To a young preacher Dr. Whedon once said, "Do you know why the *Quarterly* is published? To teach the young men how to write." From the most virile, mature, and skilled minds among us there should come such matter as may be, in style and substance, an education and an inspiration to the younger generation of preachers and laymen. There are men now past their meridian who date some of the epochal intellectual arousments of their youth from certain articles in the *Quarterly Review*. In this office there is to-day no more distinct ambition than to make the *Review*, to its utmost possibility, helpful and attractive to our rising ministry, especially to the more than three thousand who are pursuing the courses of Conference studies, for we count that nothing is too good for them. If we could by any means bring it to pass that the *Review* should attain such character and value that no one of them could afford to dispense with it, great would be our joy, sufficient and gratifying would be our reward.

The *Review*, in our judgment, must be primarily and chiefly a periodical for ministers and for such of the more intelligent and thoughtful of our laity as are interested in themes and materials belonging to those realms of thought in which the ministerial mind needs to be at home. It cannot attempt to fill in any degree the place once occupied by the *Ladies' Repository* and the *National Repository*, or to compete with popular magazines of a general character, like the *Century* and *Harper's Monthly*. While it need not be exclusively theological, any more than a minister's education should be so, it yet must be guided and limited by the requirements of the class to whom preeminently it is sent to minister.

The *Review* expects to admit opinions which may not coincide with its own; to do otherwise would be to limit its scope to the editor's personal horizon. Recognizing that its mission of safe service forbids the indis-

criminate admission of everything, it is yet obvious that any such publication as this is useless unless the loyal, devout, instructed, and capable intelligence of the Church is allowed freedom therein.

In 1848 Dr. John McClintock, taking charge of the *Quarterly*, and speaking of subjects relating to the faith, organization, usages, history, and discipline of our Church, wrote: "On all these topics we shall admit of *free discussion*, within the limits, of course, of sound prudence and discretion. Nothing is gained to religion or to the Church by attempts to cut off investigation or to stifle honest opinions. Time was when this was thought to be a Christian duty. There are, doubtless, some who think it such still, who would shut up men's minds forever in *their own* narrow inclosure, putting a barrier to inquiry at the precise point which *they* have reached, as if wisdom must die with *them*. To these men every new view of the wants or duties of the Church is heresy, and all scrutiny of an old one presumption. With such we have no sympathy." After the lapse of nearly half a century of enlargement, enlightenment, and progress since those words were written it is scarcely to be supposed that there are any men still alive who are so far behind Dr. McClintock that they ought to have died not later than 1848.

The *Review* intends to be stanchly devoted to all that makes for the highest possibilities of Christianity in general and of Methodism in particular, counting it good fortune to belong to a Church to whose doctrines and theology it is easy for a reasonable intelligence to be substantially and steadily loyal through all the changing phases of world-thought and varying phrases of expression.

"All noble things are difficult" is the life motto of a distinguished Scotch scholar. At Niagara, Anthony Trollope found an artist attempting to paint the great falls, and said, "You have chosen a difficult subject;" to which the painter replied, "All things are difficult to a man who desires to do well." The editing of the *Methodist Review* is a noble work; its editor has some desire to do well; he does not expect to find it easy. With reverential awe for a lofty and sacred task, we now proceed under orders from the Church to investigate our capabilities by the experimental method, believing that life was never so well worth living to the Christian thinker nor so hopeful for mankind, and that our cherished Methodism, planning great things for God and expecting great things from him, may go forward with confidence upon a mission not yet fulfilled, rejoicing that

Such a voice calls to her from the years to come,
And such a length of bright horizon rims the dark.

THE APPLICATION OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS TO SOCIAL LIFE.

THE thorough application of Christian ethics to social life is an imperative necessity of the times. This application as it is now made is in feeble, imperfect fashion, and within limited areas. It should be effected universally, and with all the intelligence and strength of which

the ethicist is capable. Choicest culture and richest acquisition will here find their noblest uses.

Christian ethics are few, simple, and "easy understood of the people." But they cover every relation of sentient life. Better understood than explained is the law of perfect love to the God and Father of all spirits, of loving one's neighbor even as self is loved, the sublimest possible development of this law being the eleventh commandment, promulgated by our Lord Jesus Christ: "A new commandment I give unto you, That ye love one another; *as I have loved you, that ye also love one another*" (John xiii, 34); and also that law of equity so strikingly epitomized by the great Hillel, and yet more forcefully and in best form by Jesus of Nazareth, doing unto others as we would be done by if the relative positions of the doers were reversed.

The application of these divine rules of conduct to social life is the positive outcome of revealed religion and the normal exercise of private judgment. To study and promote it is the urgent business of every Christian. The study itself is a charming occupation, the subject studied one of the richest vouchsafements of Providence and humanity. To promote it is to take on the Christ character and to share in the bliss of the divine nature. Nothing is of greater importance to society. What is more winsome and beautiful than a typical American household, a family distinguished by the Master's life and spirit? It cannot but be that its women are pure, sweet, sunny, gentle, and gracious; its men strong, manly, courteous, and beneficent; its children vivacious, piquant, loving, and beloved. Each sex complements the other, converts domestic society into a type and prophecy of heaven, and constitutes the real unit in the indestructible fabric of American nationality. The reform of every family in this polyglot land on this model is surely the pet project of philanthropist and patriot. In achieving such reform each and every one of the major and minor Christian ethics is called into active play.

Outside the family circle Christian ethics should not be less operative. What is, not what ought to be, is the theme of political economy. Therein lies its radical defect, the default that necessarily brands it as the "dismal science." It affirms warfare to be the natural condition of society, each individual, firm, corporation, and community avariciously holding its own and covetously seizing, or attempting to seize, what is possessed by others; and that without regard to revealed ethics, which it scornfully rejects as "Sunday school politics" or as the iridescent dream of fanatical *doctrinaires*. Were this postulate true the bitter dictum of pessimism that "society is not worth saving" would be undeniably correct. Such society—and there is too much of it in existence—badly needs reform; nor are courageous souls, full of faith and hope in the higher possibilities of human nature, wanting who are not only willing to undertake the task, but are slowly though surely accomplishing it.

Of all who enter into business, at Boston ninety-two per cent, at Philadelphia ninety-four per cent, at New York ninety-six per cent are reported by commercial agencies as failing sooner or later. Why does the

percentage of eight, six, and four in the respective cities succeed? Careful and exhaustive study of the question while preparing the material for a series of twenty-six articles on the commerce, manufactures, and insurance companies of New York led a diligent inquirer to the conclusion that—other things, such as strength, brain, culture, and opportunity, being equal—the determining factor of success is the intelligent, rigid application of Christian ethics. The successful plainly avowed this conclusion; they did not wear profession on the sleeve, but let habitual action attest the sincerity of their creed. Yet New York is not exceptional in the relative number of its philosophic business men. At other business centers they are quite as numerous and fully as emphatic in their testimony to the wisdom of divine ethics and the productive value of their incorporation with the individual and social life of the people. Neither commercial transaction nor financial obligation, in their deliberate opinion, has any adequate security, excepting what springs from the ethical sentiments and moral character of the parties thereto.

It is also true that all the enumerated elements of business success do not afford the guarantee that it will assuredly follow their operation. It is better to deserve success than to achieve it. There is something that men call chance, luck, or fate that frequently decides what shall be success and what failure. Enlightened men reverently call it providence. It is impossible to eliminate God from human affairs. Still, such is the beneficent, continuous power of Christian ethics in secular matters that prescient men cannot fail to recommend and rejoice in their application.

Thorough study of commercial exchanges, banks, and trust companies—Jews and Gentiles, Roman Catholics and Protestants—in this and other cities brings into vivid relief upon the background of intense social activities the worth of applied Christian ethics, the demonstrated fact that "godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come" (1 Tim. iv, 8). Selfishness is stupidity. Altruism, as when the disciples distributed the loaves and fishes among the hungry multitude, augments its store of blessings in proportion to the magnitude of those gifts with which it lovingly parts.

Men, personally and in the aggregate, are "slow of heart" to believe in the ethics of the great Teacher. Belief in many is clear and confident now, although it was dark and despondent thirty years ago. So blind and foolish was the majority that it practically repudiated them in relation to slavery, pauperism, intemperance, the liquor traffic, crime, and kindred evils. Taught by dire experience, they have learned the expediency of dutiful application, delight in the resultant good, and—exempt the Mongols from full participation in the benefit!

Intelligent and fearless application of Christian ethics to the needs of women and children, to the education of the rising generation, to the instruction of the ignorant, to the family constitution, to the relations existing between capital and labor, to private and public corporations, to the functions of civil governments, to Sabbath legislation, ecclesiastical controversies, and many other burning questions, is duty and pleasure

to patriot and humanitarian. The difficulties associated with bimetalism, silver coinage, suffrage, immigration, impudent claims of anachronistic foreign potentates and powers, protection, tariff, and free trade, foreign policies, and international relations all disappear under the working of this universal solvent. Nothing is so adamant as to resist its force, nothing so dark that it does not illumine. It concretes the abstract, gives substance to ideas, demonstrates the solidarity of all human interests, the brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God, and the certainty of the coming millennium.

GOD'S HAND IN OUR NATION'S HISTORY.

THE Columbian Quadricentennial, whose industrial exposition this month of May inaugurates, has directed the attention of all the world to American history. And the one thing concerning this history which it seems particularly appropriate here to emphasize can be no other than the divine leadings made manifest therein. That the Lord God omnipotent reigneth, ruling among the nations as well as in the hearts of men, every land proclaims. It declares also that righteousness exalteth and sin reproacheth any people, and that only those banners which are set up in the name of the All-Holy can finally triumph. All history assures us that the distinctions between right and wrong are eternal; that justice and truth alone endure; that the people which is morally corrupt becomes physically weak; and that national wickedness means national decay.

To trace the proofs of these propositions and find them illustrated in the complicated unfoldings of events, to note how Providence turns and overturns among the occurrences where human passion and greed seem to be raging in defiance of his law, and to mark the movings of a divine hand in the midst of the cross purposes of men, is an occupation of surpassing interest. And especially where one's own country is the scene of the search no more profitable theme can be proffered for study. If there is one land which, more than another, invites such investigation, surely it is this land of liberty, of law, and of religion, this free America. For, from the remotest beginnings of our career down to the present, it is scarcely possible that any candid man can refuse to recognize a divine design in operation upon this continent—a purpose which is not of earth, and which is truly marvelous to all beholders. Mere human aims and human foresight cannot explain what has occurred in connection with the discovery and the settlement, the development and the enfranchisement, of this portion of the globe. A number of particulars combine to convince the student that the same God who guided Israel has guided these United States, and that the same principles which ruled his administration of all the affairs of that ancient people rule here and now.

I. THE DISCOVERY.

In the first place, how wonderfully God reserved this continent for freedom! He hid it for long ages behind the western wave till the proper

hour had struck and all was ready for its disclosure to the race. How remarkable that nothing whatever came of the discovery and partial settlement of America by the Norsemen! Lief Erickson, nearly five hundred years before Columbus, came to Labrador and proceeded down the coast as far as Rhode Island. Many explorers followed him, and some colonies were planted; but they were feeble and were soon abandoned. No importance was attached to the matter. Nothing resulted. Europe did not hear of it, and the world was neither wiser for it nor better. "The curtain which had been lifted for a moment was stretched again from sky to sea, and the New World still lay hidden in the shadows." Why was this? May we not rightly say that God threw a veil over the unexplored continent until his plans concerning it should be matured, and until the time had come when he should work out his glorious purposes? Not till the end of the Middle Ages, not till the great Reformation in Europe had emancipated the human mind and the stirrings of free thought which followed it had prepared a people who could make the best use of this grand opportunity, was the opportunity to be afforded.

II. THE POSSESSION.

When Columbus and his gallant successors had disclosed to Europe that another world lay just beyond the ocean the question arose as to who should possess it. It was a mighty question, for this was a mighty land. Nothing could be more manifest than that it was prepared by infinite wisdom to be the theater of a great race and afford a field for astonishing progress in the civilization of mankind. All the nations of western Europe apprehended something of its importance and vied with each other for its acquisition, much as they are now striving for the possession of Africa. They poured out their gold and their blood. They sent their bravest sons, their most vigorous and courageous explorers. Spain and Portugal, who had the start, did their best to get the lion's share. Holland and Sweden made earnest efforts and obtained some portion. France threw her immense resources lavishly, for some centuries, into the same endeavor. But, one after another, these all failed. Insurmountable difficulties arose. Things against which no human foresight could provide met and defeated attempt after attempt. As Jehovah, through the mouth of Samuel, when the sons of Jesse passed before the prophet, rejected one after another till David appeared, so he seemed to say by the mouth of his providence to nation after nation, to throng after throng of adventurers and colonists as they passed on to these shores, "I have not chosen you, I have not chosen you, nor you, nor you," until at last England arrived, and to her was awarded the prize. God intended that Protestantism should reign here, not Romanism. He intended that the Anglo-Saxon race, not the Latin, should be the dominant power on these shores and impress upon these broad fields the highest and best sentiments of freedom. The conflict between France and England for supremacy here was especially thrilling and momentous. It was long-drawn-out and very closely contested. France seemed for much of the time to have the advantage, for

she owned all the North and all the West, while England had only a little strip along the coast. But on the 10th of February, 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, after the victory of Wolfe at Quebec, the French king lost his entire possessions in the New World, and it was finally decided that the decaying institutions of the Middle Ages should not prevail this side of the sea, but that the powerful language and laws and liberties of the English race should have free range in these vast dominions. John Fiske says of his decision that it "marked the greatest turning point as yet discernible in all modern history, the most prodigious event in the political annals of mankind." Surely no one can fail to see that God was in this marvelous defeat of France after the centuries of fierce conflict in which she had engaged.

III. THE COLONISTS.

Looking a little further and deeper, we are struck with the fact that godly men, men of marked piety and religious enthusiasm, were the ruling forces in the colonization of this country. The Pilgrims, as is well known, were a picked company of rarest worth who fled from religious persecution and sought freedom to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, before they stepped upon Plymouth Rock, they agreed upon a covenant for the guidance of their civil affairs, in which they plainly said that "for the glory of God and the advancement of the Christian faith" they had undertaken to plant a colony. There can be no question but that the Pilgrims of Plymouth and the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay, more than any other one element, stamped their impress upon the institutions of this nation and preempted it for righteousness. And though there was a more worldly element at Jamestown, Va., yet even there the conversion of the Indians and the advancement of the divine glory thereby was especially mentioned in the charter as a prime object of the undertaking. In the Carolinas very large numbers of the French Huguenots, driven from France by the cruelest persecutions, made themselves happy homes, and so did German refugees and devout peasants from Switzerland. Georgia was founded by Oglethorpe, the philanthropist, out of pure benevolence; the motto on the corporation seal was, "Not for self, but for others;" and the Moravians, a people of the most fervent spirit, came there in large numbers. In Maryland there was opened by Lord Baltimore, a truly noble Catholic, an asylum for the persecuted of that faith; and the largest liberty, far broader and more enlightened than Massachusetts or Connecticut then knew, was there established. In the same great-hearted spirit of equal rights for all, Roger Williams, the Baptist, founded Rhode Island. And the Friends, under William Penn, who founded Pennsylvania, gave an example to all of justice and peace, innocence and truth. So, taking it all in all, it is undoubtedly true that there never was such a body of men presiding at the sources of influence, at the springs of power, in any other nation as there was in this. And here again we perceive God's hand very plainly manifest.

IV. THE REVOLUTION.

Coming down to the Revolutionary struggle, who but God could have given the victory to this oppressed people? From the human point of view everything seemed against them. Over and over again during those dreary years their cause was as desperate as could well be imagined. How could they have really expected to conquer? How could raw recruits and undrilled militia contend with veteran regiments seasoned in the wars of Europe and commanded by experienced generals? How could an empty treasury overpower a full one? What madness for this handful of scattered, impoverished colonists, strung along this exposed coast, without an army, without a navy, without money, without credit, without a central government which could do anything but advise and implore, to throw down the gage of battle to the mightiest empire on the face of the earth—an empire which had just humbled the House of Bourbon and overpowered the fleets and armies of the first nations of Europe! Looked at from both sides, the war seems to have been of God's own contriving. What madness possessed England to goad her colonists to such a pitch of fury and desperation, and thus hazard the loss of half her possessions for no final good? Some statesmen she had who saw the utter folly of it and gave warning, but they were not listened to; the uniform majority against them in Parliament was three or four to one. The rulers of England were deaf to all petitions and remonstrances from this side of the sea. They refused to listen to reason or make the slightest concession. The colonists of the period did not desire to fight. Even when they began they had no intention to really separate themselves from the mother country. It would have been very easy to have patched up terms of peace with England had there been any degree of wisdom shown on her part. Many of the most influential spirits among the colonists were for temporizing and adjusting the difficulty. They went back and forth with petition after petition; they would have consented to almost anything had there been the least conciliation shown on the other side. But no; the king and his advisers were infatuated, almost demented; they would listen to nothing. Judicial blindness, it would seem, had descended upon them from above. In the same sense in which Pharaoh's heart was hardened by Jehovah, that he should not let Israel go until judgment after judgment had come and the oppressed were all ready for freedom, so the heart of George III was hardened that he should not hearken to any compromise. In the same way that Rehoboam was led to listen to the worst counsels of his advisers and give rough answers to the people until they threw off his yoke—"for the cause was from the Lord," as the Scripture writer says—so George III was led to rush on in his selfish, perverse way till he had lost America; because God had determined that on these shores a great free nation should arise.

And when the war was in progress, the want of skill and enterprise on the part of the British generals, and the constant mismanagement by their home officials, were almost beyond belief. The distress of the colo-

nies was also extreme, and the suffering and privation of the troops were often heartrending. God it must have been who confounded the counsels of England and carried the Americans, in spite of all, step by step, through their almost impossible undertaking. He it certainly was who gave them George Washington, without whose extraordinary abilities and marvelous merits all would most surely have been lost. And none was more ready than he to recognize the divine power and to say, "Not unto us, but unto thy name give glory." In his first inaugural address he said this: "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the invisible hand which conducts the affairs of men more than the people of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency." Truly it was so. On another occasion he also said, "We have been freed from Great Britain by reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence." And so they had. The Almighty most clearly led our forefathers into the war, he led them all the way through it, and when they had been sufficiently chastened by suffering he brought them forth victorious.

V. THE EXPANSION.

A map arranged to show the territorial growth of the United States is to every reflective mind a very interesting study. Nothing reads more like a romance, and nothing speaks more loudly of God, than the story of the reclamation of this continent, the filling of the wilderness with happy homes, the formation of Territory after Territory, of State after State, until now at last from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Gulf to the Arctic Sea, our whole magnificent domain is organized into its fifty great republics federated under one banner.

The thirteen original States which wrested their freedom from Great Britain contained only 421,000 square miles. Then, in 1787, four years after the peace, out of the vast tract between the Ohio and the Mississippi was organized the great Northwest Territory, which subsequently yielded us five mighty States. Between this time and the year 1819 Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama were severally admitted into the Union. Singularly enough, these nine additional States made just 421,000 square miles additional, exactly doubling the original area. Our territory at that time stopped with the great river, the Mississippi being our western boundary. Spain held everything west of that stream, including all Mexico, and also Florida, in the southeast. In 1800 Napoleon compelled Spain to cede to France the vast tract called Louisiana—that is, all the land west of the Mississippi for its whole length, and extending northward to the Pacific Ocean. But in 1803, finding that he could not profitably manage this territory, because of many wars at home, he agreed to sell it to the United States for fifteen million dollars.

Thus at one stroke, and at a comparatively inconsiderable expense, we gained an additional million of square miles, more than doubling our previous area. We now stretched from ocean to ocean, a truly imperial

domain. But God had yet more gifts in store for us. Next came the Mexican cessions, including Texas, California, Utah, Arizona, Nevada, and the rest, for which we paid sixteen million dollars, besides the blood and treasure expended in the war. This strife was undoubtedly unjust in many particulars. Nevertheless, God was in the outcome. As in regard to the British rulers long before, so now in regard to the Mexican, it seems impossible to explain the madness and infatuation and silly pride which possessed them, leading them to imagine that the course they took was wise and would result in victory for them, except on the supposition that judicial blunders from the Lord lay upon them, as upon Pharaoh and Rehoboam, it being God's purpose, for the benefit of the world and the good of the race, to put these immense tracts into our hands and under our free stable government. So we gained another million square miles. And how startling the fact that it was only a few days after the signing of the treaty with Mexico which put California into our hands that the whole world was electrified by the news that gold in fabulous quantities had been discovered on the banks of the Sacramento! Was there not a providence in this? And also in the purchase of Alaska, containing more than half a million square miles, from Russia, in 1867, for only seven million dollars? That completed what are now our possessions, the total being 3,604,000 square miles, or nearly nine times as much land as was in the old thirteen States. In round numbers, we came into possession of one million square miles by the treaty with England after the Revolution; we bought another million from France; and gained still another million from Mexico, together with half a million from Russia. The British possessions north of us will eventually become our property, and perhaps the islands south. Politicians call it "manifest destiny;" but these are meaningless words. Better is it to say "the providence of God," who designs on this continent to advance the race to a condition to which it has not as yet attained, and to work out on this magnificent field, in the centuries to come, problems which shall greatly redound to his glory and the good of mankind.

VI. THE EMANCIPATION.

Turning now to the last war, we find its prosecution marked by many traces of a divine hand, only a few of which can be mentioned. Here, as in the Mexican and the Revolutionary contests, what but God's judgment can adequately explain the marvelous blindness of the Southern leaders to the vast superiority of the North in resources and men? It was nothing less than insanity on the part of the men of the South—insanity growing out of their ignorance of the temper of the Northern States, growing out of their overweening pride, growing out of their wicked determination to keep the Negro in bondage and rule the land or ruin it; it was delusion of the wildest sort that led them to believe they could conquer the North in the fight. God allowed them thus to deceive themselves because he saw that in no other way could slavery be destroyed and the republic be purified of this great crime. The Southerners went into the

war expecting to make slavery triumphant and spread it over all the continent. The Northerners, for the most part, went into the war simply to restore and maintain the Union, being convinced that there was no room on this soil for two nations with antagonistic interests. But God's intention from the start was to destroy slavery. Hence he had to withhold success from our arms until the nation had learned the lesson intended, until it was sufficiently humbled and punished, and was fully ready to do justice to the oppressed.

So, on the 21st of July, 1861, the Northern troops were beaten at Bull Run. How it amazed and galled us! We could not understand it, knowing well that our cause was just. Had any one of a dozen trifles turned out differently in that contest we should have won, and God could easily have ordered it that we should win. But had we done so slavery would to-day, in all probability, still be spreading its baneful blight over the land. It was the same way with the disasters on the peninsula before Richmond in May and June of the following year. We had a splendid army, we had advanced within a few miles of the capital, the rebel forces were shattered, and but for inaction on the part of the commanding general—mysterious at the time and ever since—the capital of the Confederacy, as we now know, could have been easily taken. But no, it was not to be. We were not yet ready to do justice to the slave, and God would not bless us. Then followed Lee's invasion of Maryland and the slaughter of twenty thousand men on the bloody but indecisive battlefield of Antietam. Victory was still withheld from us. But we were beginning to understand what God meant. Good men throughout the North had been praying and speaking, and the eyes of the people were opening to the truth. So President Lincoln, feeling at length that the nation would sustain him, in accordance with the solemn vow he had made before the Lord that if Lee were driven back he would do justice to the bondman, on the 22d day of September, 1862, issued an order which electrified the world, announcing that on the 1st of the next January the slaves should all be free. And when those hundred days of public notice had expired came the great proclamation which emancipated four millions! From that moment God granted victory to the armies of freedom. Vicksburg and Gettysburg came that summer, and after that wonderful Fourth of July which gave us those two crowning mercies, though it took us almost two years more to finish the conflict, the issue was no longer doubtful—the end was in sight. We had learned that liberty and union must stand or fall together, and that the accursed wrong of holding property in man, which we had been so long clasping to our bosom, must be definitely and forever put away before we could possibly have peace. The war had to continue, as Lincoln so well said, till the wealth piled by unrequited toil had been sunk and every drop of blood drawn with the lash had been expiated by another drawn with the sword. So true and righteous altogether are the judgments of the Lord.

Of minor providences connected with the great struggle there are very many that might be mentioned. Who can forget how the nation was

thrilled when the *Monitor*, on the 9th of March, 1862, in the opportune moment, arrived at Hampton Roads, on the very day when the ironclad *Merimac* would otherwise have easily destroyed our shipping and moved on to the devastation of the Northern ports? How came that strange little "cheese box," as the rebels derisively termed her, that turreted novelty, that triumph of the genius and science of Ericsson, the Swede, to get there precisely when the danger was greatest and the need absolute? Had any one of a hundred things intervened that might to human eyes most easily have happened, she had been too late, the blockade would have been broken; and everywhere our wooden ships would have been readily sunk. But God was clearly in the occurrence, and all events obeyed his will to save our nation.

Who but God gave us Abraham Lincoln, that marvel of the nineteenth century, as Washington was of the eighteenth? It was not our wisdom that selected him. We knew him not. He was a plain, untried man. Nobody understood what was in him any more than they did what was before him. He did not himself understand. It was the Almighty who brought him forward and put him at the head of the nation, the one man for the hour, to guide us through that awful storm. The same may be said of General Grant, and of many of the other leaders, both civil and military, such as Stanton and Chase, Seward and Sumner, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas. This noble group was raised up for our deliverance as plainly as Moses and Joshua and David were raised up to emancipate the enslaved Israelites and establish the Jewish nation. Men were given us in the time of our need, and also money, which was no less essential. The exhaustless mines of gold and silver on the Pacific slope, on both sides of the Rockies, and in the Sierra Nevadas, there hid since the world began, were discovered and developed in the exact time to meet the great emergency. The slave power had failed to get control of that vast region, and though so far away—with no railways then joining them to the East, and with many temptations to organize for themselves—the men of the Pacific proved true to the Union and to freedom, and poured out their treasure like water to save the day.

Surely we have said enough to show that there is a God in this history, a God who rules among the affairs of men, appointing the bounds of their habitation and giving the kingdom to whomsoever he will. It is only the fool who can say in his heart there is no God, or none that concerns himself with human duty and destiny. The wise man will heartily acknowledge God's presence and power among us, and will set himself to cooperate with the divine plans. Only thus as evil of every kind is put away, and as we become a truly Christian nation, not in name only, but in deed—only as righteousness prevails among us and wickedness departs—can there be genuine and lasting prosperity. The ideal citizen is not the anarchist or the atheist, the infidel or the agnostic, but the man that loves and fears God. For it is religion more than aught else which made this republic what it is, and the growth of scriptural piety means the growth of everything besides that the nation needs.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

COSMOPOLITANISM is the genius of the age into which men have now come. In contrast with the illiberality of other days this means a broader taste and a larger flexibility of adaptation to new environments; in comparison with the older self-absorption it implies a deeper concern for the affairs of other men and an heroic devotion to their good. The relation of the individual to the race was never broader, as well as closer, than at the present. In a true and increasing sense every man belongs to the world, and the world to every man. The scientific progress of the age, if we come to inquire the cause of this cosmopolitanism, in some degree nourishes the sense of universal citizenship. There is an advance in linguistic skill. The incomprehensible dialects of Pentecost would be intelligible now. The scholar is often a man of many tongues. At the very antipodes it were possible to speak one's mother language and find an intelligent listener. The ease of international communication also brings the individual into closer relations with his distant brethren. The morning journal condenses the doings of the wide world on the preceding day. For the expenditure of a trifle one may establish telegraphic connection with India or China and talk with some living soul upon the heights of the Himalayas or along the Great Wall of the Chinese empire. Time is annihilated; and while the clocks of the world make but a single swing of their pendulums a man's voice to his fellow-man has traversed the globe. And the facilities of travel also contribute to the increase of the cosmopolitan spirit. Man is naturally a peripatetic. To the gratification of his ambition for travel there can be but one successful hindrance—and that is the impossible. With which disposition to travel he is, in these later days, a resident of all lands. The world was never narrower. The twenty-five thousand miles of the earth's circumference have shrunk to a span. Escape from others is practically impossible; the world is a resounding whispering gallery; the eagle-eyed detective looks into every corner of the world to apprehend the criminal. The tour of the globe is a lesser journey now than was Abram's expedition of a few hundred miles from Mesopotamia. The steamship can circle the globe almost as quickly as the camels of the Jewish patriarch, with their heavy hoofs, made the ever-historic pilgrimage into Canaan. Under such circumstances of rapid travel it is never necessary for the traveler to say farewell to his fellows; the tourist that one meets to-day under the shadows of the Pyramids or along the streets of Peking he may greet to-morrow in the drawing-room festivities of America. And under such circumstances a man feels himself a citizen, not only of his own community and State, but of every government and of all municipalities. The earlier provincialism is no longer possible. To man's education, jurisprudence, commerce, and scientific progress he cannot be indifferent; in the amelioration of human pain and wretchedness he must be interested; and for

the universal establishment of morality the inevitable drift of sentiment now forces him to feel a concern. So does the whole world become at once his property, his care, and his rejoicing.

THE republic of Liberia clearly merits its enrollment among the governments of the earth. Established in one of the more obscure corners of the globe, and maintaining a quietude which is unbroken by the contentions of kings and princes or by the invasions of foreign warriors, its onward progress is too little noticed. If some nations, like individuals, are retiring and unboastful, to this class Liberia certainly belongs. She does not enter into competition with the larger governments of the world for territorial possessions; she never plays the rôle of dictator in international councils; she does not bid for the world's plaudits with the blare of trumpets and spectacular display. Yet on account of her sterling qualities this little republic upon the African coast is not to be lightly esteemed. Such a tribute to her excellences, for instance, as is set forth in the Seventy-sixth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society is at once deserved and instructive. For more than forty-five years, according to this showing, Liberia has existed as an independent republic. Twenty-three administrations have in this period quietly succeeded one another, during which time the republic has "exercised the functions of a national government, having executive, legislative, and judicial departments, keeping peace and order within her own borders, collecting and disbursing revenues, holding diplomatic intercourse with other nations, and establishing a system of common schools." Covering an area of 95,000 square miles, and numbering a population of some 1,250,000, all of whom belong to the Negro race; blessed with a forest verdure of "unspeakable beauty and grandeur;" possessing a flora which is unusually "rich and varied;" and growing all the tropical vegetables and fruits with luxuriance, Liberia is surely one of the garden spots of the great continent of Africa. That the republic has maintained its autonomy and vigor for nearly half a century, though under the condition of a somewhat elementary civilization, is a striking testimony to the latent strength of character of the African Negro, and is not an insignificant prophecy of future prosperity. The truthfulness of the words of Henry Clay was never more evident in the history of Liberia than now, that it is "a republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects." But the emigration to Liberia of the American Negro should inspire an additional and most practical interest in the well-being of this African republic. Probably too few realize the steady exodus to the African shores of our blacks which has been going on for three quarters of a century. For the furtherance of this object the American Colonization Society was organized seventy-six years ago. Commencing its work four years later, it has yearly since then sent emigrants to Liberia. At the present date it can show a total of 16,413 colonists, besides 5,722 recaptured Africans, whom it has

helped to settlement upon the African shores. Added to this enumeration of actual results, the further item is not unimportant that the applications for help Africa-ward have increased during the past year, have come from Northern as well as Southern States, and now reach many thousands in number. The United States cannot be indifferent to these facts. While it is too much to expect that our entire black population could ever be induced to emigrate—because of their sometimes considerable investments here, their home associations, or their natural dread of an expedition across the seas into untried scenes—yet at least a partial solution of the Southern question may lie in the furtherance of African colonization. The strong and commanding republic of the New World should, therefore, wish a hundredfold prosperity to the weaker republic of the Old. All sympathy and good wishes to Liberia!

SHALL the death penalty be abolished as an inhumanity which should cease with the passing century? The vigorous agitation looking to this end has not only found some place of late in the public prints, but has also attained to the importance of legislative discussion and action. Concerning particular instances of the death sentence which provoke on the part of many sentimentalists a clamorous demand for gubernatorial interference it would be unbecoming here to speak. Yet, as all injustice of any sort calling for rectification is emphasized in such specific instances, these are valuable as instigators of public interest and action. The question is as old as the generations. To throw a human being into the dungeon for his murderous assault upon another; to subject him to the rigors of a judicial process; to condemn him to the extreme penalty known to men; and to put out, like the extinguishment of a bright-burning taper, the life which God has given, seems, from the standpoint of the sentimentalist, an act of indefensible brutality. That the criminal has blotted out another human life which was equally or perhaps more valuable is, in the estimate of right thinkers, the only justification for his arraignment, and the sole warrant for the temerity of the human judge in assuming the functions of the greater Judge and in pronouncing the sentence of death. But in discussing the ethics of the death penalty the primary object of capital punishment should, we contend, be taken into consideration. And such purpose is evidently that the execution shall act as a deterrent as well as be punitive in itself. The lesser visitations of the law are for the same end. It is right that theft and arson and bribery shall be punished by fine and imprisonment, not only that the guilty may themselves feel the stings of remorse and have opportunity for reformation of life, but also that others in our communities with the same evil tendencies may take warning and practice a wholesome self-restraint. To abrogate the statutes covering the punishment of these lesser offenses would be to usher in a reign of terror and of multiplied crimes. The analogy clearly holds. The murderer must be punished for the prevention of other murders. Easy are the approaches to this supreme crime.

Some great affront, in the estimate of the enraged man, has been given; his jealousy or wrath has perhaps been strengthened by strong drink, that factor in so many crimes; passion for the time being takes the reins and drives on the headlong steeds. It is sadly prophetic to say that, as a consequence, there will always be murders. To hedge about the commission of the crime with as many deterrents as possible and to clothe its punishment with the most awful solemnities seem, therefore, the part of civic wisdom as well as of religion. And, because the death penalty, by whatever method, appears the most awesome of all deterrents, we must believe in its continuance.

THE popular outbreak in Belgium is but the continuation of the old struggle for equality which has filled all lands and centuries. Divested of their superfluous settings, these late Belgian riots are but the protest of the common people against the rejection of the liberal electoral bill by the Chamber of Deputies—though the dominant authorities had encouraged the anticipation of the passage of this measure. Clearly the masses have a grievance. An examination of the electoral body in Belgium shows the astounding fact that only between two and three per cent of the total population enjoy the right of suffrage. Nor do they seem to be excluded from this freeman's privilege through lack of educational or property qualification. But, as in other lands where caste is dominant and social distinctions are entrenched in the customs of the centuries, the aristocracy have held the scepter in their bejeweled hands and are loath to let go their sovereignty. It is simply the contest between the purse-proud aristocracy and the brawny masses—a contest which enlists the sympathy of all sturdy manhood, and a contest in which the patrician must ultimately suffer defeat. The occurrence of such a demonstration as that happening in Belgium directs attention to the generic principle of popular suffrage, than which no principle is more vital to national perpetuation. We are not of those who would grant the voter's franchise indiscriminately to men. Too carelessly has this priceless privilege been conferred in the past. A mistake has been made, it is to be feared, in the United States. However just the conferring of the freeman's right in our earlier national history, when the population was sparse and immigration invited, the desirability of restricting suffrage is now the conviction of all who have eyes to see. The old arguments for certain qualifications as a prerequisite to the exercise of the voter's privilege gather new force with the years. Perhaps there should be a property qualification, though not one which is burdensome and unjust. Certainly there should be an educational requirement. The schoolhouse should be the gateway to the polls; an instructed citizenship will insure a healthy and progressive commonwealth. Yet under right restrictions the privilege of electoral rights should be granted to the last citizen entitled thereto. The trend of the age is toward democracy. The masses are coming to the front; and soon these untitled masses shall, in justice, direct the governments of the earth.

THE ARENA.

THE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL STATUS OF INFANT CHILDREN.

WHATEVER may be affirmed in creeds and confessions of faith, the doctrine of unconditional election and reprobation is no longer taught from evangelical pulpits. The dogma which Calvin himself styled a *horrible decretum* is exploded. God's saving scheme of mercy embraces the race. "As by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The death sentence is canceled, pardon is graciously bestowed, and life is secured. No soul will perish because of the first transgression in the garden. "The soul that sinneth, it shall die."

The moral and spiritual status of children may be legitimately inferred from the teaching of prophets, of apostles, and of Christ himself. The offspring of fallen parents have no inherent purity. Adam begat a son in his own likeness. The child inherits lapsed faculties and alienated appetencies; it has no birthright to heaven. A Saviour is needed and redemption is accomplished; the ransom is paid. But redemption is not salvation. In personal salvation justification and regeneration are the essential elements in every case of infants and adults. Justification is pardon, but "justification unto life" manifestly implies regeneration, which signifies the new life. The words of Christ to Nicodemus set forth the qualification without which no soul can enter into the kingdom of God—on earth or in heaven: "Ye must be born again!" "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." The spiritual birth is the beginning of the new life. It is a birth into the kingdom—a new creation. God's "free gift" is unconditional, securing complete personal salvation to all before actual sin has been committed. Regeneration, which is coordinate with justification in personal salvation, is also coetaneous; without it the soul is but half saved.

The Bible clearly teaches that infants are personally saved; the words of Christ are explicit: "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me; for of such is the kingdom of heaven." Again, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." On such New Testament teachings Dr. Scott emphatically says:

Infants are as capable of regeneration as grown persons; and there is ground to conclude that all those who have not committed actual sin, though sharing in Adam's offense, will also share in the blessings of the second Adam's gracious covenant without personal faith and obedience; but not without the regenerating influences of the Holy Spirit.*

In substantial agreement with Dr. Scott, Richard Watson says:

We are bound to conclude that in some sense the kingdom of heaven is composed of little children; they are its subjects and partakers of its blessings. If

* Commentary, Matt. xix, 13, 14.

children are subjects of Christ's spiritual kingdom on earth, then, until the moment that by actual transgression they bring condemnation on themselves, they remain heirs of the kingdom of glory; and if they remain heirs of the latter by dying, then a previous vital connection must have existed on earth between them and Christ as their redeemer and sanctifier.*

Dr. Nast, while in harmony with Drs. Scott and Watson as to the salvation of infant children, assumes that they are not cleansed and qualified for heaven till in the moment of death. He says:

The Holy Spirit effects more in the salvation of infants that die than in those that grow up to years of understanding. The reason of it lies in the difference of the circumstances under which he is pleased to save them. We cannot conceive of regeneration in a child before it has awakened to self-consciousness. That takes place in the dying child at the hour of death, when the spirit leaves the body. It is regenerated in the very moment when the soul leaves the body and awakens to self-consciousness.†

Thus the learned doctor, by bold assumption, solves the problem, without any warrant whatever from the inspired word. But let us see what his assumption implies. If the spiritual birth occurs the moment before death, why might it not take place at any previous moment of the child's existence? It is clear that the cleansing could not take place the moment after the spirit's release from its clay tenement, since its mortal life would have ceased to exist prior to that moment.

Turning to our book of Discipline, Paragraph 43, we read:

We hold that all children, by virtue of the unconditional benefits of the atonement, are members of the kingdom of God, and therefore graciously entitled to baptism.

This kingdom is manifestly spiritual and invisible, while baptism initiates the subject into the outward or visible kingdom—the Church of Christ. But what is baptism? Let us see. It is “a sign of regeneration or the new birth.”‡ God in his ancient Church did “appoint divers baptisms, figuring thereby the renewing of the Holy Ghost.”§ Again, “Remembering always that baptism doth represent unto us that inward purity which disposeth us to follow the example of our Saviour Christ.”|| Baptism is “the outward sign of an inward grace.” It is the symbol of “the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.”

Why are children proper subjects of baptism? We answer that it is because we hold that they are already members of Christ's spiritual kingdom; because of inward purity; because *unregenerate* persons—whether infants or adults—cannot be members of the kingdom of God. In the books consulted in the examination of this subject no text of Scripture has been cited in support of the assumption that God has a purpose and method for saving the dying child which do not apply to those who live till they come to years of understanding. The very thought is unworthy of the Author of salvation. Why bestow special blessings upon those who are about to be gathered into the fold of the Good Shepherd, and withhold them from those who live to do battle with sin and Satan

* *Theological Institutes*, vol. II.

‡ Article of Religion xvii.

† Commentary, Matt. xix, 13, 14.

§ Ritual.

|| Ritual.

during the tender years of childhood, unaided by regenerating grace? God has but one scheme of mercy and but one method of salvation. He saves infants and adults by the same method. He saves all and evermore where there is not positive resistance of his Spirit and truth. Prevenient grace antedates all effort, purpose, and desire for a new heart. The first divine influence which quickens the conscience, creating a desire for a purer and better life, is initial salvation, and but for resistance would lead to the cross and to the fountain of healing. Little children do not resist; they do not reject Christ, and grace saves them.

If all infants are personally saved before coming to years of understanding, why do they not retain their infantile piety? Why do they reject the good and choose the evil? We answer, there are a few found in our churches who, like Timothy and Samuel, have known and loved the Lord from the earliest period of their lives. Two of the most devoted and useful ministers the writer has ever known were of this class. They knew nothing of the bitter cup of repentance. They could give no account of the date and circumstances of their conversion. They had no recollection of a day in life when they did not love the Lord and devoutly implore his blessing to rest upon them. They were deeply spiritual and eminently useful. They have gone to their reward. Every pastor, it is believed, has known individuals who were upright in life, God-fearing, and deeply anxious to be the disciples of Christ, and yet they remained out of the Church. Why did they not profess Christ and become identified with his people? They feared to take so important a step simply because they had been exhorted to "repent and be converted." They could not weep, neither could they agonize to enter in at the strait gate. They had, as we believe, remained in the fold from infancy; they had not lost the fruits of God's "free gift" which had secured to them "justification of life."

Intelligent, patient, tender, and watchful instruction by parents would save multitudes from wandering away from the fold. O, how much every household needs a faithful Eunice and a loving Lois to train the babes in the nurture and admonition of the Lord! The scheme of mercy and the blessed home influences which saved Timothy ought to be able to keep all the lambs within the fold of the Good Shepherd. Errors in belief and erroneous teaching have resulted in fearful loss to the Church, and in untold sadness to Christian fathers and mothers.

San Francisco, Cal.

H. C. BENSON.

"DEFINITION OF FREE WILL."

In his definition of free will it seems to me that F. G. Nagle, of Pacific Grove, Cal., is wide of the mark. He says: "Free will is a mental or spiritual development which enables the possessor to act according to an ideal, regardless of fleshly inclinations."*

With all respect I offer the following criticisms: 1. Will is not a "de-

* *Methodist Review*, January-February, 1893, p. 132.

velopment," but is inherent. It is a part of the constitution of the mind, the same as the intellect and sensibilities are. 2. "To act," if he means the performance of the deed, as I suppose, has nothing whatever to do with free will. To will is one thing, but to perform that which is willed is quite another. The will-action is free even without the deed-action. 3. An "ideal" of right or good toward which the will is free to act has no place in the definition of this word. If the will has not power to act contrary to any "ideal," whatever that may be, it is not free. Freedom implies powers of alternative choice. It may see and approve the right but still the wrong pursue. It may mock its own "ideal" and choose the opposite.

Will is a distinct faculty of the mind, possessing powers of alternative choice, influenced, it may be, by motives of good or by passions of evil, but necessitated by nothing and without limit in its operations. It may choose even to dethrone the Almighty. The "limitation" comes in the execution, not in the will-action.

McKENDREE SHAW.

Tully, N. Y.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO NATURE.

THE various animadversions elicited by an article published in the January-February number of the *Methodist Review*, and entitled "The Gospel in Nature," indicate that the subject is receiving further investigation. All my critics desire apparently nothing but the truth, and yet it is a little remarkable that no two perceive the same difficulties. One intimates that a new line of thought has been started, and that time is needed for its examination. It is clear to us that the *Review* article has not, as a whole, been correctly understood; hence it has not been critically examined. So far as noticed not a point has been made against our thesis, and as space will not allow us to set our critics right, one by one and item by item, we will content ourselves to cover the whole ground in a general way, mostly by reiterating what may be found in the article itself on the questioned points. It is there held:

1. That the earth was, when pronounced "very good," intended to be for man not only a place of abode and a school for intellectual development, but a divinely appointed sanctuary of worship, and that its adaptations were as complete in one respect as another.

2. That such was the fullness with which the Creator revealed himself and his will to man through his works, and such the clearness his spiritual life gave to spiritual vision, together with the creature's direct access to the Father and the tree of life, that a written revelation, such as ours, was unnecessary.

3. That, as taught by Wesley, Watson, and Clarke years ago, man sinned, died spiritually, and dropped down from the plane of spirituality—his intellect becoming "beclouded," though not injured *per se*, and his appetite and passion receiving an abnormal growth; but that he was arrested in his fall by the provisions already made in the atonement, and is not hopelessly lost.

4. That, "as creation as a whole formed a unit, a disturbance in any one of the departments affects disastrously the whole;" and in another place we say "that the place assigned to man in nature was so vast that his lapse disturbed the whole." Dr. Bovard will perceive that in not "deigning" to defend a position I did not take I did not so grievously sin.

5. That, as "nature is the product of divine thought, and man its head and front, in its intellectual and moral departments its teachings should blend with revelation and be duplicated whenever they occupy the same ground; that, as the original system was 'very good,' if the second came from the same source it must be a reproduction of it—a second edition, only in another form; that as the first was adapted to the condition of sinless man, the second should be so modified and enlarged as to be suited to the fallen and the spiritually dead."

6. We attach supreme value to the "lily," not for what it is *per se*, but for what in the hands of its Maker it may do as a teacher; so of the entire constitution and laws of nature.

7. In saying that during his ministry Christ made but little *use* of the Old Testament Scriptures we simply stated a fact palpable to every one; but Dr. Bovard understands our words to mean that he attached but little *value* to them. We beg his pardon; we did not suppose our words could possibly receive such a construction, especially as we affirmed that he gave the Old Testament the sanction of his authority; that the teachings of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms were the word of the Lord to the people, etc. Dr. Bovard's challenge "to produce from nature a single teaching on the atonement" we would gladly accept did space permit; as it is, we refer him to Butler's *Analogy*.

Our article has now answered for itself the objections raised by our critics. It is, in fact, but a single thought which is more largely developed in our work, *The Anatomy of Atheism, Demonstrated in the Light of the Laws and Constitution of Nature*, published by Cranston & Curtis.

Chautauqua, N. Y.

H. H. MOORE.

DR. STRONG'S SELF-CORRECTION.

PLEASE allow me a brief criticism on my own criticism of Mrs. Sarah F. Adams's favorite hymn (No. 724 of our *Hymnal*) in the March-April *Review*. On reading my article in print I wish to modify the implication (p. 264) that the measure is necessarily *iambic*, which does indeed in the main fit the words and is the most frequent in English verse. I perceive, however, that it may also be scanned as *dactylic*—a very unusual species, thus:

Nearer, my G6d, to thee,
Nearer to thee.

And this appears to be the view of it in the music to which it is set in our "Hymnal with Tunes." On the former plan there are *twelve* violations of prosody in the entire hymn, besides those of the initial phrase so often repeated, and on the latter there are *nine*—not much gain.

Madison, N. J.

JAMES STRONG.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**COURSE OF MINISTERIAL STUDY FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.***(Continued.)*

UNDER the caption "Exegetical Theology," we may, for the purpose of this paper, without impropriety, include not only the study of the exegesis of the Scriptures, but those related studies which are preliminary to it. In one sense all studies for the ministry are preliminary to exegesis. Indeed, the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures is the supreme function of the Gospel preacher. In the address to those to be ordained elders the bishop says: "And seeing that ye cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work, pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same; consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners, both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain unto you, according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this selfsame cause, how ye ought to forsake and set aside, as much as you may, all worldly cares and studies."

Again, the bishop asks: "Are you persuaded that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ?" Since, then, the Bible is the supreme arbiter of doctrine and duty, of the things we are to believe and preach, it is all-important that the minister shall be trained in the exact meaning of the sacred writings. Hence the course laid down for our young preachers in this department is fundamental, and includes:

"First year: Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the Old Testament; Exegetical Studies in the Pentateuch."

"Second year: Introduction to the Holy Scriptures, the New Testament; Exegetical Studies in the Gospels."

"Third year: Exegetical Studies in Isaiah."

"Fourth year: Exegetical Studies in the Pauline Epistles."

The sphere of Biblical Introduction is very broad. What it should include and what it should exclude has been widely discussed. The mode of approach to the study of the Bible, whether by the old isagogical method or the later historical method, whether as accepted in its entirety as a full and complete revelation of God, or whether as still on trial to be investigated and to be discarded if not satisfactory to the student, are matters which are still under consideration by the scholarly world. It is well for the minister to remember, however, that before his entrance on the ministry he has had a personal religious experience, which connects itself directly with the doctrine of the inspiration of the Old and New Testament Scriptures. Whatever they may be to others, to him they are not on trial, but are already accepted, and his experience is in harmony with their teachings. He cannot, therefore, approach the study in the spirit of pure criticism, but in the spirit of reverent affection and love.

His duty toward the Scriptures, therefore, is not that of a critic, but that of a disciple who has received their doctrines and desires to expound them faithfully to the world. This does not, however, exclude thorough investigation of the foundations upon which his faith rests. Therefore the study of the Introduction to the Scriptures is absolutely necessary.

What is included in the Introduction may be comprehended under Canon of the Scriptures, Biblical Philology, Text Criticism, Archaeology, Hermeneutics, and, in a wider sense, perhaps, the Evidences of Revealed Religion. To these studies the candidate for the ministry should devote himself with great industry during his course.

It is to be noted that the Exegetical Studies are progressive. Beginning with the Pentateuch, they pass to the gospels; then to the Pauline epistles and the prophecy of Isaiah. The careful study of these books, with the studies introductory to them, include the study of the profoundest problems of modern biblical thought. Some one has said that the roots of all the questions of Old Testament literature are found in the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and certainly the foundations of all New Testament questions center in the four gospels. In Isaiah the prophetic aspects of the Old Testament reach their culmination, and in the Pauline epistles the complete development of Christian theology is exhibited. Richly endowed, indeed, in knowledge, in critical acumen, and in spiritual insight will he be who has carefully studied this course as laid down in our book of Discipline. Until the General Conference of 1884 exegesis was not insisted upon as a part of the Conference curriculum for candidates for the ministry. It is now assigned to its appropriate rank.

The value of purely exegetical studies in mental training and in securing entrance to the very rich treasures of God's word need not at this time be insisted upon. It is a maxim in theological thought that a good exegete is a good theologian, and he who keeps most nearly to the very words in which the Holy Ghost communicated sacred truth will most fully understand the mind of the Spirit.

THE YOUNG MINISTER.

THERE are two priesthoods recognized in the New Testament—that of all believers, by which each comes to God with his own sacrifice of a “broken and a contrite heart,” and that of teaching and of official service, by which those specially designated of God make known his truth to the people. “And no man taketh this honor unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.” In the New Testament sense they are not properly priests, but “ministers of the word.” The Christ whom they preach is both priest and sacrifice, and their constant cry is, “Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!”

The glory of the minister's office is derived from the Master whom he represents and the grandeur of the message which he is commissioned to announce. He represents the King of kings, and proclaims on his behalf pardon to his rebellious subjects. “We are ambassadors for Christ, as

though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." No one can enter upon such a work without asking anxiously, "Who is sufficient for these things?"

This is the case with a young man who is conscious that he has been called of God to the work of the ministry. The magnitude and difficulty of the service almost overwhelm him, and he raises the inquiry, "How shall I fit myself to enter upon this sacred office?" Of natural gifts and spiritual graces we need not speak. It is a safe assumption that God calls no one to his work who has not the qualities of mind and heart which, when cultivated, will effectively serve his cause.

The Church exercises a careful guardianship over those who profess to be thus called, and inquires whether they have "gifts, grace, or usefulness." Those whom the Church designates as candidates for the ministry at once confront questions of great moment, not to themselves alone, but to the Church in which they are to minister. Some of these questions which are likely to arise in the minds of those looking forward to the ministry we propose to consider.

1. Does the call to the ministry include the call to enter immediately upon the work of preaching the Gospel? This question must be answered in the light of experience and of history. That there have been and are those who feel, "Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel" *now*, is evident. The majority, however, of those who are called in early life are called with a view to preparation rather than to immediate service.

This is the present conviction of the Church as expressed in her extensive arrangements for the education of young preachers. All branches of Christianity have educational societies to help those who are looking forward to the ministry and who are too poor to bear the entire expense. The establishment of academies, colleges, and theological seminaries under the direct control of the Church shows the extent of the course which she thinks important for them to pursue. At the end of the course they are finally examined, in order to test whether they have passed successfully in the required studies. The Church further enjoins upon all who enter her ministry a four years' course, through which every young man must pass in order to full ordination to her service. It is clear that the Church recognizes the call to the ministry to be a call to get ready, by a rigid course of spiritual and mental discipline, for its exalted functions.

This is further apparent from the study of the lives of those most successful in preaching the Gospel. It is largely true of those who have led the thought of the Church. Jonathan Edwards, the great metaphysician and theological writer, in the days when separate biblical schools did not exist, spent two years after graduation in preparing for his special work. He realized that his first duty was to prepare. The same was true of our own great writer and commentator, Dr. D. D. Whedon. It is also true of the most noted revivalists. President Finney, of Oberlin, whose life and work are still an inspiration to all who labor for the salvation of souls, realized the same thing and employed his wealth of theological learning in directing men to the cross of Christ.

Without denying God's call of specially qualified men to enter directly on their ministerial labors, it is manifest that most of those who are called to preach the Gospel are thereby called to make the best possible preparation for the sacred office.

PRESERVATION OF MATERIALS.

(Continued.)

BECAUSE of the continued interest felt in the preservation of sermonic materials, we add a further letter upon the subject from one of the thoughtful readers of the "Itinerants' Club" department:

EDITOR ITINERANTS' CLUB: The book with which I would part last—the Bible, of course, excepted—is of my own making. I have worked in its construction for several years, and expect to do so as long as I work at all. Its value is already beyond my anticipation when I began it, and increases with accelerating speed. In short, my most valuable book is a key, a skeleton key, which at once unlocks nearly all the treasures of my reading, and secures as in a safe gems which otherwise would be scattered beyond redemption. I have carefully studied the methods of others, but have not yet found reasons for altering my own. Only a conviction that the adoption of such a plan increases the facility and efficiency of a minister's work prompts me to add this article to the many which have been written on the subject.

● After sufficient experimenting to assure myself of the wisdom of my plan I purchased a large ledger containing between five and six hundred pages. Instead of setting apart special pages for special subjects I fill in the pages solidly as I advance. The alphabetical index contains the subjects upon which entries have been made. As I read a book, a magazine, a paper, I enter upon the pages of my ledger the subject of importance, whether it be a chapter, a paragraph, an illustration, an analysis, and then simply put the number of the page after the subject as contained in or added to my index. In entering the subject I refer to the book, magazine, paper, or to my file case for clippings, of which I shall speak. For example, on the resurrection of Christ, according to my index, I have references to my reading on pages 2, 27, 45, 49, 53, etc., of the ledger, for the most part references to valuable material which otherwise I could not refind without great labor, if at all. Indeed, I find I have written out suggestive arguments, a happy illustration, and many other things which I could have preserved in no other way with equal ease and compactness.

In the latter part of the ledger I have set apart pages for the several books of the Bible, and here I enter without individual index reference all matters pertaining to the special treatment of the book, chapter, and text, references to valuable sermons in my books, or other material. I have this so arranged that in a moment I can discover if I have anything on the text in hand. For example, on page 138 I have references to articles,

sermons, and expositions, in file case, in *Homiletical Review*, in volumes on my shelves, on many texts in Hebrews.

In the reading of the daily or weekly papers I find clippings of two sorts, to be referred to as subjects or as texts. I have a file case, prepared by Rev. J. C. Thomas, in two parts—one a system of alphabetically indexed envelopes or flaps, the other arranged with an envelope for each ten chapters of the Bible, or for any book when it contains less than that number. Anything filed in either of unusual value I enter also in my ledger simply F. C. (file case in loco).

This system is as simple as possible for the purposes it serves. It is compact, no waste pages being left in the ledger. It allows of indefinite extension. It covers the whole range of reading.

Rye, N. Y.

E. S. FERRY.

"THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST." (ROM. VIII, 9.)

THE passage of which this phrase is a part reads as follows: "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." The question to be considered is, What is meant by "the Spirit of Christ?" Some have maintained that the word "Spirit" here means temper or disposition, and that the phrase "Spirit of Christ" means no more than "the Christian spirit." Such a dilution of this very suggestive passage has no support from the context or from general usage. That the Holy Spirit is referred to immediately before is clear and unquestionable. The word "Spirit" does not occur in the sense of disposition of mind in the previous chapter, and is here introduced to mark the great transition from the condition of conflict between the mind and the flesh into that of victory in which there is "no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus."

In the previous part of this verse "the Spirit of God" is employed, which is evidently the same as the "Spirit of Christ." Here the Spirit is that of God and of Christ, concerning both of whom it is affirmed that they dwell in believers. Meyer says: "The Spirit of Christ is no other than the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of God. He is denominated the Spirit of Christ because the exalted Christ imparts himself in and with the Paraclete (John xiv, 16), and because whoever has not this Spirit is not a member of Christ."

This admitted exegesis of the passage is of special importance. It is a statement of the distinguishing possession of a child of God. The "Spirit" is the indwelling presence which constitutes us partakers of the divine nature. The immediate connections of this passage are significant as showing the prominence assigned to the Holy Spirit in the Christian life. He is the medium of communion between man and God, and must be ever present in his Church as an energizing force. "This is not only a proof-text for the deity of Christ, but for the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son."—*Shedd*. Beet also says, "This proves the essential oneness of the Father and the Son."

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PAUL EWALD, OF LEIPSIK.

THE general drift of thought on the question of the origin of our four gospels has long been toward a sharp separation between the synoptics and the gospel of John. This is often carried to such an extent that if a critic accepts the synoptics as true history he will logically reject the fourth gospel, and *vice versa*. The result is that the question of the canonical gospels is a double one. Ewald is one of those who do not regard the differences between the synoptics and John as mutually exclusive. To his mind the latter is the supplement and complement of the others. Having clearly fixed this idea in mind, that there is in reality but one principal gospel problem—that of the relation of the four gospels to each other—he formulates a method which, though not altogether new, is very satisfactory for the solution of the problem. He does not believe that the true solution is found in any of the “tendency” hypotheses. No doctrinal purpose, no exigency of the development of the Church, had control in the selection of the material of the synoptics, as so generally supposed. On the other hand, also, he stoutly resists the idea that the tradition was fixed and that the gospels are simply more or less perfect representations of what the Church had come to believe concerning Christ. Ewald’s own theory may be stated as follows, especially with reference to Mark: The gospel of Mark was merely a reduction to writing of the preaching of Peter, for the use of the great apostle’s hearers. It was not intended to be a life of Jesus, but simply a record of the things Peter mentioned in his discourses concerning Christ. In a similar way there lies at the foundation of Matthew and Luke a collection of addresses by our Lord, brought together by Matthew. But the three synoptics are one-sided and partial, and therefore, to complete the portrait, the gospel of John was necessary. This reminds us forcibly of what we have always been taught. We cannot resist the conviction, however, that no one cause can be made to account for the present form of our gospels. They were written partly for a purpose, partly from previously written sources, partly from traditional sayings, partly as the utterances of the great apostles, and partly to correct and supplement each other. It is interesting to note that more and more the historical trustworthiness of John’s gospel is being emphasized. Ewald is a firm believer in its apostolic origin and in its thorough trustworthiness, as well as in its perfect harmony with the synoptics. The longer the battle rages the more triumphant the victory for the validity of the New Testament record.

JOHANNES GLOËL, OF ERLANGEN.

AMONG the conservative critics of the New Testament Gloël has recently distinguished himself by a tolerably exhaustive and complete refutation of the latest criticism of the Pauline epistles, particularly Galatians, Romans,

and First and Second Corinthians. It is the recent attacks of Dutch theologians, followed by the Swiss scholar, Steck, which call forth his cannonade. Steck teaches that the assumption by the followers of the Tübingen school of the Pauline origin of the four principal letters attributed to the great apostle to the heathen is unjustifiable. Neither they nor the others attributed to him can be accepted as Paul's without examination. A critical examination of them, however, leads Steck to the conclusion that they are not of Pauline origin, and, in fact, that we have nothing whatever written by Paul. That this conclusion is justifiable on the principles of the Tübingen school there can be little doubt, although the followers of Baur reject it with tremendous energy. And Steck has done a good service in waking up the newer critical school to the consideration that if the minor epistles must not be accepted without examination the principal ones should not be subjected to a more gentle handling. But his chief service is in having proved that if the methods of some of the critics are to be maintained, then we are deprived of every trustworthy source of information concerning primitive Christianity. Gloël insists further that the pretended literary dependence of Paul's principal letters upon each other and upon other documents of the New Testament is erroneous; and also that we have in the Acts of the Apostles, as Steck admits, trustworthy history, and therefore a twofold source of information, since we can safely trust the Pauline epistles. Gloël deals the radical critics vigorous blows every time he has occasion to speak of their proceedings, and yet he does it with so much authority that they are obliged to take it patiently. He is far from the belief that the Scriptures of the New Testament should not be subjected to a critical examination. But he firmly holds that they cannot be properly investigated by one who knows nothing of the experiences which they reveal as possible to mankind, or who in the process of investigation forgets his personal relation to the Being whom they make known. Without these qualifications criticism is godless and therefore prejudiced. With them it is devout and sympathetic. It is growing more and more evident that the outfit of the biblical critic is not identical with that of the critic of secular history or philosophy. May the number of such as Gloël speedily increase!

PROFESSOR R. F. GRAU.

THE doctrine of inspiration has almost fallen away among the scientific theologians of Germany. Professor Grau's standpoint may be regarded as essentially that of the conservative as against the extreme orthodox and the extreme negative critics. To him the Holy Scriptures are the infallible authority in matters pertaining to faith and salvation. They appear to faith as the divine light of eternal truth and heavenly glory. So they will appear to all the world when He shall come of whom the Scriptures testify. But it pleased God to give this heavenly glory a vestment of humility, in which the dust of the path of centuries through which God has traveled with his people, and the imperfections and errors of men who were the subjects of his covenant, may be recognized. Those who will

see nothing of this glory in the Bible, but only these imperfections, shall fall thereby. Those, on the other hand, who, following their own ideas of God's method of dealing with men, fail to see God's way, and refuse to see the imperfections of those men and times, but of imperfections and errors make divine perfections and truths, shall reap the fruit of their course. This is the way of Rome and of papal self-exaltation, which prescribe beforehand what the Bible must contain. It corresponds to a great extent with a standpoint within the Protestant Church. Not the real character of the Bible, but the dogmatic requirements of their own theory, is what they find in Holy Scripture. This is a very convenient pillow for the heads of its believers. They need trouble themselves no more about Scripture. There is nothing more for them to learn, and they can call themselves the only true believers and despise all others. On the other hand, Grau does not believe in an inspiration which reduces the Bible to a human work and makes the divine acts and sacrifices nothing but illusions and human opinions. A critical science reaching such results he rejects. Yet he does not yield the right to employ the science of criticism in reference to the Bible. On the one hand he avoids the self-exaltation which has nothing to learn, and on the other the desperation which sees in the scientific study of the Bible the evidence of apostasy and blasphemy. Faith must maintain itself as well before a world sunken in materialism as before a science which has fallen from the faith. Just because he is certain of his faith without science, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, he will not fear a faithless criticism, and can follow its leadings and thereby discover that even it must serve Jesus Christ as its Lord. It is noticeable that Grau only insists upon the scientific theology as a right, and not upon its utility, which he practically denies by saying that he is sure of his faith without science. This is a striking admission for a scientific theologian.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

TRADITION, BY ERNST VON BUNSEN.

This is one of the richest works recently published in Germany. The author undertakes to give an account of the origin and development of tradition. We can select but one small section of the work for treatment here, namely, tradition the original source of the Bible. He regards it as certain that in every ancient nation there were organizations for the purpose of preserving and transmitting traditions. This he thinks was true as well of the ancient Hebrews, and Moses received much of what he wrote from this source. Even as late as Ezra, he thinks, such organizations existed, and Ezra revised some of the sacred writings according to the knowledge thus obtained. To all Scripture thus originated he would deny the quality of revelation. Nevertheless, it is proved to be exceedingly trustworthy. He is convinced that the Book of Deuteronomy in the form in which we have it did not exist prior to the time of Josiah, and that it was written and attributed to Moses by prophets and priests

to enhance their standing and to make reformation under Josiah possible. Nevertheless, he does not deny that the valuable facts handed down by tradition from the time of Moses were embodied in the book; and it is highly probable that they employed this opportunity of writing out what had hitherto been in existence only by means of oral tradition. This is certainly a most interesting theory and takes away much of the wickedness of the supposed forgery. Bunsen does not deny the element of revelation in the Bible, but confines it to such parts as might have had their origin in a spiritual communication between God and man. In writing the Holy Scriptures, made up thus partly of traditions carefully sifted and partly of true revelations, the writers could only proceed according to their best knowledge and conscience, and even then they would make mistakes. Evidently, however, Bunsen distinguishes only in degree between other sacred books and the Bible, although the difference in degree is so great as to amount almost to a difference in kind. For he speaks of the Bible as the book of books, and says that it contains more of the word of God than all other sacred writings put together. The impression of a divine power in the Bible makes itself felt among critics of all classes, however much they may differ as to the method of its communication to men. This inner fastness of truth the critics would defend with as much energy as the most orthodox could demand.

THE DYING AND THE SUFFERING MESSIAH OF THE SYNAGOGUE, BY DR. C. H. DALMAN.

THAT during the first millennium of our era subsequent to the separation of Christianity from Judaism there was developed in the latter a doctrine of a Messiah who died a violent death and who made an atonement for the sins of Israel, and that there was also developed during the same period among the Jews a doctrine of justification similar to that of St. Paul's, is significant. Many writers have observed it, as Von Orelli, Schürer, Weber, and Edersheim; but until Dalman published his book there had been no monograph on the subject, and no discriminating treatment of it. Most writers assumed that all the prophecies of the Old Testament which described the sufferings of the Messiah referred to one, and all those which described the glories of the Messiah referred to another, thus giving us two Messiahs with exclusive histories and destinies. This Dalman disputes, and makes the rabbinical teaching refer rather to a Messiah who died—the Messiah, son of Joseph, or the Ephraimite Messiah—and a Messiah who suffered, the Messianic son of David. The former went before the latter. The doctrine of the former, Dalman thinks, did not arise as a parallel to the Samaritan Messiah. He rather regards the origin of the doctrine as a result of the influence of Christianity. The Jews of Jesus's time would not accept our Lord as the Messiah of prophecy. But later they were compelled by the Christian exposition of Jewish Scriptures to look deeper into their prophecies and to find there a suffering Messiah, although they still denied that this was Jesus of Nazareth. But his death was for a different purpose from that of our Lord. It had rather a political

significance. The suffering Messiah, on the other hand, grew up out of the interpretation of Isaiah liii. He is represented as having dwelt with Messiah ben Joseph in paradise before his appearance upon earth. It was the suffering Messiah who was supposed to have secured salvation for the people as a reward for his sufferings, which were endured vicariously, as Christianity teaches concerning Christ. But his merit only reached to the Jews, and all who were not circumcised were punished. Furthermore, his merit was only sufficient to supplement the righteousness which they themselves possessed, and did not make them absolutely dependent upon him. The shallowness of the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah stands in pitiful contrast with the profound facts of Christianity. But its existence shows that it is not impossible the complete recognition of the truth by the Jews may sometime come.

PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS, BY DR. AUGUST EBRARD.

THIS work by a French Reformed pastor was published subsequent to the death of its gifted author. It consists first of a singularly clear analysis and translation (in German) of the epistle, and second of equally clear notes exegetical and explanatory based on the original text. We shall give here only his general remarks on chapter ix. That God is also the God of the heathen appears in contradiction to his promise that Israel should be his chosen people. There are two methods of solving this problem. One of them is that given in Galatians, the other that found here, where Paul affirms that the promise is not given at all to Israel according to the flesh, but, on the one hand, to a smaller group, namely, the pious remnant of the people, and, on the other hand, according to all the prophets, from Micah to Isaiah onward, to a circle wider than the Jews, namely, the heathen. Of the other entirely different question of the relation of the Holy Spirit to our individual choice or rejection of salvation he makes no mention whatever. He does not even raise the question why the masses of the Jews do not believe; much less does he teach that it is because the Holy Spirit has not given them the requisite assistance. Rather he busies himself here with the question why it is that the masses of Israel have no part in the fulfillment of the promises in Christ. The blame is laid entirely upon the Jew, and not upon the divine will. The idea that Paul is here treating of the relation of the personal choice to the Holy Spirit was brought into the passage by Luther and Calvin from without, namely, from Augustine. Looking through these Augustinian spectacles, these men hoped to find an answer in the text of this chapter. The predestinarians take for the most correct expression of the truth the hardening of Pharaoh's heart, whereas Paul, only for argument's sake, puts this into the mouth of his opponents. It is not the expression of his own opinion. Paul at the most admits that if God saw fit to create some for damnation he has the right to do it; but he nowhere admits that God has so done. In verse 22 he argues directly against the supposition of his opponents by stating what God did really do. We cannot give here even an outline of the logical argument by which the author of this work carries out his *exposé* of the

falsehood of the predestinarian theory. But we quote: "He, therefore, who, out of verse 21, deduces the dogma that God has really created a portion of mankind unto condemnation merely trifles with the Holy Scriptures." This is a hard saying. But it is becoming more and more evidently true as the decades flow on.

MYSTICISM IN MODERN THEOLOGY.

THE energy of theological thought is manifest in the fact that it cannot be checked. Dam it up in front and it will break out on one side and find for itself a new channel. The old rationalism strove to rob the incidents of the Bible of everything irreconcilable with reason. Hindered in its flow in this direction by the demand of an honest exegesis, it turned in another and undertook to destroy the validity of the records themselves. The last work of destruction accomplished, as it supposed, it must needs do something, and so it turns to construction. But it does not construct a new Bible. Rather it finds in the inmost recesses of the inner man the foundation upon which it proposes to build. As external authority in the form of the Bible and the commands of the priesthood passes away the individual rises into prominence, and experience is made the source of authority. Reason is not, as the rationalists taught, the authority and source of our knowledge of things divine. Only as a divinely conferred ability to test experience is reason now held in esteem in the realm of theology. Whereas formerly experience was despised and the possibility of a real religious knowledge almost denied, now it looks as though its triumph had become dangerously complete. It is now solemnly proposed to reconstruct many of the doctrinal utterances of the Bible on experiential grounds. Their presence in the Holy Scriptures could not command acceptance, but experience does. Not the record of the divinity of Christ is supposed to satisfy the mind, but the soul experiences his divine power. That Christ sitteth on the right hand of God is not to be taken on Scripture authority, but that he is risen and living and operative is proved by the soul's communion with him. Indeed, the whole Bible can best be tested by the experiences of the pious soul. These are made not only the proof of the truth of the Bible, but the measure of the divine revelation; whatever cannot be experienced is not revealed. Taking the Bible in its entirety, there are some who, denying the inspiration of individual portions, yet assume to show that every book in our canon is needful as the expression of some truth capable of being tested by experience, and that only these books are needed. This feeling has supplanted with many the authority of reason, revelation, and the Church. This is mysticism pure and simple. But there is really nothing new in the phenomenon. It is impossible for the soul to satisfy itself with negatives. Protestantism fell back upon the authority of the Bible as soon as it renounced the authority of the Church. Negative the authority of the Bible, and the soul must fall back upon itself. This mystical tendency is visible in modern Unitarianism. It denies the essential divinity of Christ but affirms the divinity of every human being. It denies special inspiration to

the Bible but attributes inspiration to all high thought. The modern tendency to mysticism often takes fantastic forms. Theosophy is an example. Christianity is too reasonable. The theosophist demands the *bizarre* speculations which cannot be refuted because they have neither beginning nor end. The mysticism of the present day differs, however, materially from that of ages past. It deals chiefly with authority in matters of faith. It does not press to the extreme the possibilities of enjoyment. It is not lost in contemplation of the being or attributes of God. It is not the kind of mysticism which produces saints. It is purely the mysticism which a reaction from unbelief is sure to carry with it, but held in check by the cold behests of reason. It is the spontaneous effort of the soul to compensate itself for the loss it has sustained in the rejection of the Bible as the source of authority in religion. Accordingly, it is most developed in those who go farthest in biblical criticism. Some such even openly say that our faith is not drawn from the Bible, but would exist just the same without it. Others claim that as the Bible was the product of the Christian consciousness of the earliest Church it can have no authority over us, since we have as good a right to trust the Christian consciousness of our day as they had that of theirs. More radical still is the assertion made by a thoroughly sober as well as able American theologian, that the Christian consciousness of the individual cannot be overpowered by the authority of God's word; in which opinion he is supported by scores of theologians of Europe. Perhaps it is a providential arrangement that when the external supports of faith are taken away the soul can still rely upon its own experiences of divine things. Very certain it is that when all questions now in suspense shall be settled the support of our faith will not be single but manifold. And equally plainly is it revealed by the situation that, as Augustine once said, the soul is made for God, and cannot rest until it rests in him. It may be that some have made faith in the Bible and in dogma so prominent that the soul's rest in God has been endangered. The providence of God will see to it that the soul of the faithful shall return to its rest.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

THE APOSTOLICUM ONCE MORE.

THE strife continues. So sharp did it become that for a time it threatened other precious interests. The evangelical social congress, in which both Harnack and Stöcker are participants, would have been given up had not both agreed that their controversy should not be carried beyond the domain of theology. On the 16th of November the superior ecclesiastical counselor declared that, while he would not make acceptance of each portion of the Apostles' Creed a test of fitness for entrance into the ministry, he would not tolerate any attempt to do away with the use of the creed in the churches. On the 30th of the same month the assembly of the liberal party of the Church adopted a resolution in which they protested against what they termed the unworthy agitation against the liberal

interpretation of the Apostolicum. This they did in the interest of honor and peace. They believed in the freedom of conscience in matters of faith within the Church, and denied that the Apostolicum is a fully justified expression of the evangelical faith. The attempt at coercion was described as savoring too much of Romanism and as dangerous to the love of truth.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPT.

THE manuscripts of the Old Testament now in use do not date back further than the sixth century A. D. But recently a papyrus has been found which contains portions of the prophecies of Zechariah and Malachi. Since it is written in uncials Professor Hechler, of Vienna, places its origin about the third century A. D. Perhaps this is the oldest manuscript of any portion of the Septuagint. It is in a good state of preservation, consists of sixteen leaves written on both sides, each page being 7 by 10 inches. The lines contain from 14 to 17 letters. The leaves are arranged in book form and fastened together with strong parchment thread. The manuscript offers many variations which are advantageous on account of their clearness of expression and grammatical simplicity. Various colors of ink give evidence that the hand of the corrector has been at work.

THE DUEL IN RUSSIA.

THE sentiment against the duel grows rapidly in continental Europe. The latest evidence of this is found in the draft of a new law on the subject prepared by the minister of justice in Russia and laid before the imperial council. It increases the penalties of the old law by extending the period of imprisonment to six years for one who has killed his antagonist in a duel. In case one of the parties is merely wounded and the other remains unhurt the latter is to be imprisoned three years. If both escape uninjured both may be imprisoned six months. It also provides penalties for those who incite and those who witness a duel. This is, perhaps, as far as public sentiment in Russia will go at present. But it indicates progress, and by and by dueling will be prohibited by law, and penalties attached as for murder or assault with intent to kill.

THE BRITISH BIBLE SOCIETY.

DURING the year 1892 this Society distributed nearly four million Bibles in three hundred different languages and dialects. The total number of Bibles distributed since its organization in 1804 is 131,833,769. The Bible Society agents in different lands made interesting reports. In Germany the number of copies sold increased considerably, and a still larger increase is expected in the near future. Yet much remains to be done before the Bible can become the book of the people in Germany. With regard to France the reports complained of the rapid spread of skepticism. In Switzerland there had been a marked increase in the spread of rationalism among the clergy. Favorable reports as to progress were made with reference to the work in Spain, Russia, and Italy. Unfortunately, the Society suffers a deficit of about ten thousand dollars.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

BROWSING, as Charles Lamb might say, among the current *Reviews*, one recognizes the working in thinking minds of a deep conviction that in the large cities of Christendom the churches are not overcoming the masses of ungodly men. Wickedness, it is thought, is increasing, and in spite of the much that is being done there is still so much left undone that the churches "are losing their influence with the people." This conviction is the root of those radical, novel, and progressive methods of applying Christianity to existing social conditions and needs practiced by the "Salvation Army," the workers in the "Forward Movement," deaconess institutions, etc. These modes of church action are practical confessions that to save the three hundred thousand Germans in this city who are not church members, with the thousands of other neglecters of church services, the Church must work as never before or must wholly lose her power over these classes.

Among suggestions for the achievement of this great object we note in the *Missionary Review of the World* a proposition by Rev. Dr. E. Judson to endow mission churches. After premising that a local church which "pulls out of the slums to a more congenial environment," and leaves "the huge masses of alien and unevangelical life in the lower parts of our great cities" without the Gospel, "ceases to be essentially Christian," and becomes a "splendid illustration of refined, pious selfishness," he claims that such a church ought to retain its place on the edges of our social swamps, endow its old edifice or erect a new one, see that it has the best kind of preaching, the best music, frequent services, social appliances, a library, reading room, singing schools, day schools, industrial schools, and even day nurseries, etc. To support these he would make the church part of "a revenue-bearing building," requiring of its worshippers to do little more than to support their minister.

Treating of this same question in the *Homiletic Review* for March, Dr. Richards, of Plainfield, N. J., contends for a return of the churches of to-day to the primitive practice of having but one church in each city for each denomination; thus, for example, all the Presbyterian congregations in New York city should constitute the Presbyterian Church of New York, all the Methodist congregations should become the Methodist Church in New York, etc. Each congregation should have its own officer and each minister look after his own proper field; but all should be under one central management, work under one plan, and, above all, have but one purse. Thus each denomination would constitute a complete army corps, with all its congregations on a level and all directed to struggle for the common end—the salvation of the entire population.

Dr. Richards reasons that such a return to ancient church methods would result in bringing the full power of the Gospel on the now unsubdued masses of our cities. Lack of space for discussion in this department of the *Review* forbids comment on these proposed methods of Christian work. They are submitted here, however, as indications of what devout minds are thinking on the great problem of our times—the complete evangelization of our large cities.

THE *North American Review* for March is rich in papers on questions which deal ably with topics that occupy the thought of the times. The Hon. J. M. Rusk, ex-Secretary of Agriculture, gives his somewhat optimistic conception of what "American farming" will be "a hundred years hence;" Lorrin A. Thurston, ex-Prime Minister of Hawaii, contends that the safety of our Pacific coast and the pecuniary interests of our people require the annexation of the Sandwich Islands. The morality and the probable political consequences of that measure he does not discuss. His views of the question can scarcely be accepted as broad and statesmanlike. Following his paper is a condensed but apparently conclusive and legal answer to the question, "Is it (the annexation of Hawaii) Constitutional?" by George Ticknor Curtis, which ought at least to dispose our government to "look before it leaps" into a relation that substitutes "manifest destiny" for our Constitution. Dr. C. Edson follows Mr. Curtis with a suggestive paper on "Fads of Medical Men," which hits off the follies of both physicians and patients. A lively sketch of George Sand, as she appeared when on a trip from Paris to the Belgian frontier in 1868-69, is the topic of the next article. Then we have a symposium in which the presidents of four leading life insurance companies intelligently and instructively expound the principles of "Modern Insurance and Its Possibilities." "Conceptions of a Future Life," by Archdeacon Farrar, is the title of the succeeding paper, which contends with much force of thought and beauty of style that it is "not unaided nature" that teaches the immortality of the soul, but "the voice of God in the soul of man." It is only by faith then men can look "behind the veil!" Following this we have "Spain at the World's Fair;" "High Buildings and Earthquakes," by Professor N. S. Shaler; the "Claims to Statehood" made by New Mexico and Arizona; "England in the Orient," by Professor Vambéry. "National Banking and the Clearing House," by Hon. A. B. Hepburn, and "Notes and Comments" complete a most excellent number of this deservedly popular *Review*.

THE *New World* for March has: 1. "The Place of the Fourth Gospel in the New Testament Literature;" 2. "The Folk-Song of Israel in the Mouth of the Prophets;" 3. "Cosmopolitan Religion;" 4. "The Alleged Socialism of the Prophets;" 5. "Whittier's Spiritual Career;" 6. "The Personal Factor in Biblical Inspiration;" 7. "Israel in Egypt;" 8. "The Briggs Heresy Trial." In the first of these papers Orello Cone, by a

process of negative criticism, concludes that the fourth gospel is *not* the work of the apostle John, but of an unknown writer representing "the Christianized Alexandrianism" of the second century. This "destructive" theory is built upon utterly groundless assumptions. The second article, by Karl Budde, illustrates with fine literary ability the fact that the prophets very freely used the beautiful imagery of the Hebrew mourning and bridal songs for the purpose of giving emphasis to their divine messages to the people. In the third paper C. A. Bartol makes light of opinions and creeds, claiming that salvation consists of "the internal virtues of faith, hope, and love, . . . leaving every mind to decide for itself what to have faith in, what to hope for, and what, with liberty, to love!" Obviously, such religion can be little else than a fanciful castle in the air. The fourth paper is a scathing review of M. Renan's *History of the People of Israel*, effectually disproving that writer's theory that the Hebrew prophets were teachers of socialism. In the fifth paper J. W. Chadwick traces with a charming pen the moral and spiritual forces which animated and guided the genius of the Quaker poet, whose poems were beautiful expressions of his convictions of the right, the true, and the "Eternal Goodness." Mr. Chadwick is inclined to class Whittier with Unitarian thinkers, but not, as we judge, on valid grounds. The sixth article, by Marvin R. Vincent, is an eloquent presentation of the vexed question of biblical inspiration, claiming that its transcendent quality does not reside in verbal inerrancy or in consistency of minor details, but in the fact that its writers "spoke from God as they were borne along by the Holy Spirit." Holding firmly to this fundamental point, the professor is not alarmed by the ultra higher criticism. The seventh paper, by Professor C. H. Toy, treats the Scripture records of the origin of the Jewish nation not as inspired history, but as legends invented by the later thought of the people. The eighth paper is a *résumé* of the Briggs trial by C. R. Gillett, whose sympathies are with the alleged heretic. Viewed as a whole, this number of the *New World* sustains both its high literary reputation and its position as an expositor of what professes to be liberal theology and higher criticism.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for March opens with a paper in which Justin McCarthy gives qualified approval to Gladstone's new Home Rule Bill, and predicts its ultimate passage: "The Financial Causes of the French Revolution" are clearly and intelligently stated by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild in its second article. "Architecture—a Profession or an Art" is the topic of its fourth paper, in which T. G. Jackson defines architecture as "nothing else but construction with an artistic motive," condemns the slavishly imitative spirit of modern architects, and contends that "architecture must be studied as a living thing, not as a dead language." Its seventh article, on "Aspects of Tennyson," illustrates the poet's scholarship in a series of critical excerpts from his classical poems. In its eighth paper Miss Clementina Black comments on the prevailing "Dislike to Domestic Service," and suggests that instead of lodging in the family

servants be employed day by day for a specified number of hours, as dress-makers and charwomen now are. "Jewish Wit and Humor" is the subject of a racy and entertaining paper by "The Chief Rabbi." In the eleventh article Sir Edmund F. Du Cane proves by a careful analysis of criminal statistics that there is a "Decrease of Crime" in Great Britain. In the twelfth article we have "A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australasia," in which the excellencies and deficiencies of both countries are vividly described with evident intent to be impartial. Yet one easily discerns the influence of the writer's view-point. The thirteenth paper vigorously portrays the ruin which is threatening India through the persistent maintenance of silver as her standard of value. The steady decrease in the gold value of her silver rupee is impoverishing all classes. Gold must be made her standard of value and the silver rupee become a token coin before India can escape the commercial depression which clouds her prospects; at least such is the reasoning of this able article.

THE *Andover Review* for March-April has: 1. "The Higher Criticism, and its Application to the Bible;" 2. "The Nature of Christ's Authority as a Lawgiver;" 3. "Missions and Civilization;" 4. "Phillips Brooks;" 5. "A Call to Presbyterian Laymen;" 6. "The Andover Band in Maine;" 7. "Morality on a Scientific Basis." Of these papers we note the first as being a luminous exposition of the principles of the higher criticism, defending its necessity, but claiming that its negative and destructive work will be undone or at least greatly modified by a more judicial and constructive application of its principles; we note the second as placing in a strong light the fact that Jesus spoke to man with an authority which was underived, imperative, unreasoned though reasonable, ultimate, and addressed to the conscience as the witness to the truth he proclaimed. The fourth paper is an analysis of the training which gave the theology of Phillips Brooks its peculiar character, and of the mental qualities which made him *sui generis* as a pulpit orator; the fifth contains a note of warning from a layman to the Presbyterian Church, that in protecting itself from the doctrinal errors involved in the teaching of destructive criticism it needs beware lest in weeding out the tares of rationalism it should also pull out the wheat it cannot afford to lose. In its editorial columns we find a *résumé* of the case of Professor Smith, and a vivid portraiture of Phillips Brooks, whom it designates "the foremost orator in Christendom."

THE *Yale Review* for February has: 1. "Comment;" 2. "A New Study of Patrick Henry;" 3. "Ethics as a Political Science;" 4. "A Study of a New England Town;" 5. "Some Recent Aspects of Institutional Study;" 6. "The Crisis of Russian Agriculture." Under the head of "Comment," the questions of "Trades Unions and the Law," "Corruption in France and in America," and "Reasons for Limiting Government Activity" are briefly but suggestively discussed. In the second article William Wirt

Henry's *Life of Patrick Henry* is strongly commended by Moses Coit Tyler, not as "a banquet of light reading," but as "history for historians," as "biography for biographers," and as a valuable work of reference. Students of ethical science will prize the third paper as illustrating the relation of the Christian precept of love to the comprehension of sound moral principles by the community. To lovers of historical study the fifth paper will be esteemed for the light it casts on the most recent methods of historical study. The sixth paper treats very intelligently of the probable results of the failure of Russian agriculture on the interests of the American farmer. In Russia, it reasons, farms must soon fall into the hands of great capitalists, and her peasants will form a rural proletariat whose cheap labor will compete in the markets of Europe with the American producer. To conquer in this competition the small farms in America will have to be consolidated into vast farms owned and managed by great capitalists. The present race of American small farmers will then disappear. How apparent, if this be sound reasoning, will be the solidarity of human interests!

THE *Homiletic Review* for March is fully up to its high standard of excellence in all its departments. We note as of special interest a paper from the pen of the late Dr. A. P. Peabody, of Cambridge, Mass., on "The Importance of Personal Character in the Ministry," and an essay by Dr. R. Balgarnie on "The Miracle at Gibeon in the Light of Later Scripture." After conceding the difficulties involved in giving the words of Joshua their literal meaning, Dr. Balgarnie suggests that certain statements in the Bible concerning the miraculous light which irradiated the dwellings of the Jews in the day of Egyptian darkness, which led them through the Red Sea and the wilderness, and which is often referred to by the later prophets, may have shone on the battlefield of Gibeon. Dr. Balgarnie does not claim that it was this divine brightness that helped Joshua to win his victory. He merely suggests that it may have been, and that it was so in the thoughts of the Hebrew prophets. To this interesting suggestion the Scottish verdict "Not proven" is appropriate.

THE *Contemporary Review* for February has: 1. "The Inadequacy of 'Natural Selection;'" 2. "The Site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher;" 3. "The Military Courage of Royalty;" 4. "The Moral Teaching of Zola;" 5. "Simony;" 6. "Reminiscences of a Journalist;" 7. "The Academic Spirit in Education;" 8. "On a Russian Farm;" 9. "The Limits of Collectivism;" 10. "Count Taaffe and Austrian Politics." Of these papers we note as of special interest or value the first, in which Herbert Spencer claims that Mr. Darwin's use of the phrase "natural selection" has led naturalists to assume that "it can do what *artificial* selection does," which Spencer denies. The second article, after a thorough sifting of the grounds on which Korte, Robinson, Conder, Haskett Smith, Gordon, and others object to the traditional site of Golgotha, contends that the tradition is historically correct. The Holy Sepulcher stands on the

Golgotha of Holy Writ. The seventh paper dissects the "academic person" with a pitiless scalpel; finds him to be afflicted with that superstition which regards "knowledge merely as an end with no regard for the wider issues of life;" and contends for a democratic education which regards learning as having vital relations to every interest of life and trains the student to be also a citizen, a worker, and a man. The eighth paper, by Poultney Bigelow, impressively pictures the almost hopeless poverty and moral degradation of the Russian peasant. The ninth article ably maintains that the drift of modern industrial life is toward its regulation by collective authority, that is, by the State. The "collective will" is to keep both capital and labor within limits which will secure freedom for all. Students of sociology will find the article suggestive reading.

In its March number the *Contemporary* has a symposium entitled "Notes on the Home Rule Bill," in which Messrs. F. Harrison and J. E. Redmund defend Gladstone's new bill in an apologetic spirit, and Mr. D. Crawford illustrates its feasibility by describing "Home Rule in Croatia" as an analogous case. "Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar" is the title of a very interesting literary paper which finds the key to the purpose of the poet in making "the living Cæsar poor and pale," and causing Cæsar when dead to blaze forth in unrivaled splendor, as in the exclamation of the dying Brutus, "O, Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet!" By this Shakespeare meant to teach that when a man's working is ended his work continues in its results. A paper on "The Teacher's Training of Himself" has many practical suggestions which educators may read with profit both to themselves and to their pupils. In "The Holy Catholic Church" the Rev. R. E. Bartlett contends for the visible unity of all believers in Christ, condemns the spirit which perpetuates the separation of churches, and concludes very sensibly that when once "Christians have learned that love is, as Latimer says, 'Christ's livery,' some kind of union will come of itself; but we shall only hinder its coming if we attempt to prescribe the how and the when."

THE *Edinburgh Review* for January discusses: 1. "The Penury of Russia;" 2. "Life of John Ericsson;" 3. "The Pilgrims of Palestine;" 4. "Sir James Ramsay's Lancaster and York;" 5. "Color Blindness;" 6. "The Dropmore Papers;" 7. "Life and Works of Dr. Arbuthnot;" 8. "The Alchemists of Egypt and Greece;" 9. "The Agricultural Crisis;" 10. "The Great Irish Conspiracy." Of these articles we note the first, which, deriving its facts from authentic documents, sums up the condition of Russia in the statement that "it has a starving people, an exhausted exchequer, and a colossal military expenditure. . . . The life of the czar is insecure, and he has no ally on whom he can depend." The second paper favorably reviews Mr. William Conant Church's life of the great engineer whose armor-clad *Monitor* contributed so largely to the issue of our conflict in the war of the rebellion. The third paper reviews the "Publications of the Palestine Pilgrim Text Society," which for eight years past has been issuing translations of manuscripts which record histories of the

pilgrimages from Christian countries to Palestine from A. D. 326 to A. D. 1291. These papers, says this reviewer, "contain a strange story of human hopes, aspirations, beliefs, fears, follies, superstitions, courage, and faith." The fourth paper commends Sir James Ramsay's book as supplying what has long been a *desideratum* in English history. The seventh article reviews the life of a distinguished physician and writer who was a conspicuous member of the literary coterie which met at Pope's home in Twickenham. He was intimate with Swift, Gay, Bolingbroke, Peterborough, Chesterfield, Congreve, Parnell, and with other leading minds of his time. Hence his correspondence has both literary interest and historical value. "Johnson thought he was the first man among them, a universal genius and a man of much humor."

THE *Catholic World* for February is designated the "Golden Jubilee Number," and has among its embellishments portraits of Leo XIII and Francis Satolli, his delegate to the Catholic Church in the United States. Among its papers we note a sketch of the late "Cardinal Lavigerie," whom it designates "the new St. Paul," because of his missionary labors in Africa. "The Home Rule Bill," from which John J. O'Shea expects great results for Ireland, is also treated. Then we have "An Educational Bureau and Journal" described, in which F. M. Edselas pleads earnestly for a central distinctly Catholic organization, with auxiliaries in every diocese, to be represented through "a first-class educational journal," and aiming at a broader culture of Catholic teachers and the multiplication of Catholic schools as means of "reforming (that is, Romanizing) our republic on the basis of the old!" "A People's Ransom" is the title of another paper, in which Henry Charles Kent describes and enthusiastically commends "The Guild of Our Lady of Ransom," which was organized in England some six years ago by Philip Fletcher, a pervert from the English Protestant Church, for the purpose of redeeming "victims of that terrible evil, the Reformation!" Regarding Protestants as spiritual slaves, this guild proposes to ransom them "by prayer, by masses, by work, by charity, by the press, . . . and by obtaining for them the grace which alone can redeem them." Mr. Kent urges American Catholics to enter upon this work of ransoming Americans from the chains of heresy. He is assuredly a very sanguine gentleman, as are other contributors to this able but sadly mistaken magazine. Assuredly there is a new jubilant and expectant activity in the Romanism of to-day which ought to quicken the zeal of evangelical Churches, stirring them to more persistent and energetic efforts to lead Romanists away from that spectacular ritualism which captivates the imagination but cannot save the soul.

THE *Methodist Magazine* for March opens with an illustrated paper by its editor on "What Egypt Can Teach Us." Its second article summarizes the events of the "Peary Expedition." Other papers follow, making an attractive number of this most excellent family magazine.—The *Wes-*

leyan *Methodist Magazine* (London) for February has among its weightiest papers, "The Gospel and Revelation of St. Peter;" "Notes on Current Science," by Dallinger; "Theology in Transition and the Bible in Suspense;" and "Lives of the Laureates." Its March issue is also abundantly rich in good things.—The *Gospel in all Lands* for March treats impressively of various phases of missionary work in Mexico in several illustrated articles. It has also a rich variety of papers adapted to the needs of all to whom missionary work is a theme of inexhaustible interest.—The *Missionary Review of the World* for March is filled with stirring facts showing that the kingdom of Christ is making glorious conquests in all parts of the earth. Its April number has strong papers on "Brahmanism, Past and Present;" "The Religion of the Japanese Ainu;" "Mexico in the Toils of the Papal Power," etc.—*Our Day* for March is largely taken up with important statements by John G. Paton, the heroic missionary to the New Hebrides, concerning Christianity among the cannibals of the South Sea Islands, and with Joseph Cook's fine critical analysis of the character and work of the late Phillips Brooks in the prelude to his two hundred and twenty-ninth Boston Monday Lecture, on the 6th of February last. It is adorned with an excellent photogravure of that great and noble-hearted bishop.—The *Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal*, a magazine published by the American Presbyterian Mission Press at Shanghai, China, has in its January number a paper on "Learning the Chinese Language," not by the old method of "conning dead rules and the spelling of dead books," but by free conversation with a living teacher. Its suggestions have great value for missionaries to China. Another paper, on "Higher Education in our Mission Schools," by Rev. J. Jackson, of our own Church, is also valuable as showing how a trained and educated body of native workers is to be provided in the future.—The *Indian Evangelical Review* for January, published at Calcutta, discusses "The Urgency of Missions in the Light of Prophecy;" "Medical Missions in India;" "Testimony of a Brahman Convert for Christ," etc. The grand keynote of the first-named paper is "the evangelization of the world in the present generation." Its writer claims that "we are evidently in the closing generation of the present dispensation." Perhaps so, for the signs of a mighty movement in the Churches of to-day in the direction of missionary labor are apparent; but the time of the end is an undetermined factor to all but the Infinite One. Nevertheless, the Churches cannot be wrong in redoubling their efforts for the triumph of the Lord's kingdom.—The *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April presents as its opening article an elaborate discussion of "The Real Problem of Inspiration," by Professor Benjamin F. Warfield, of Princeton. According to the writer this problem, "in its deepest essence," is "whether we can still trust the Bible as a guide in doctrine, as a teacher of truth." Other valuable papers in the same number of the *Review* discuss "Hypo-Evangelism," "Luther's Doctrine of Inspiration," "The Conflict in Germany over the Apostles' Creed," "James Russell Lowell as a Prose Writer," and "External Evidence as to Seneca's Writings and Paul's."

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

THE HEART QUALITY IN LITERATURE.

THE address of the best books is to the sensibilities as well as to the intellect of the reader. Both characteristics are requisite. Without the merit of accurate scholarship, in these days of research, a new volume has no charm for the thoughtful reader; without the quality of appeal to the deep emotions of the soul the same book falls short of its possible influence. True writing springs from the depths of personal experience. "Look into thy heart and write" is a maxim that the author who helps humanity must observe. His book, in the natural order of events, will not fall inert and dead. Carlyle, in his philosophic conception of this truth, has well said: "If a book comes from the heart it will continue to reach the hearts of others." It is probably not incorrect to infer that all of the volumes noticed in our present issue make their appeal to the heart as well as to the head. But of them all we are particularly constrained to recommend the following: *The Bible in the World's Education*, by H. W. Warren; *Manual of Natural Theology*, by G. P. Fisher; *Greek Poets in English Verse*, by W. H. Appleton; and *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850*, by J. F. Rhodes.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Bible in the World's Education. By HENRY WHITE WARREN, S.T.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$1.

Whoever has cracked open a geode has an enabling start toward imagining our intellectual sensations on opening this book. For transparent clearness, sharpness, firmness, and symmetrical many-sidedness its pages affect the mind as a nest of crystals does the eye. Bishop Warren has crowned "his many and distinguished services to the University of Denver" by devising a professorship of the English Bible, proposed and offered to the trustees in the following words: "There is one book that is the oldest history, the best-known classic, the deepest philosophy, an ideal excellence of poetry and rhetoric, the embodiment of our American constitutional law, the foundation of good morals, whose words are still spirit and still alive with the authority of Him who spake as never man spake, a blessedness to nations and power of eternal life to individuals. I count myself most happy to be able to begin the endowment of a professorship for teaching all the students of the university, in all the coming years, the varied excellence and perpetual power of the English Bible." With these words went his personal gift of \$6,300 toward the endowment necessary to support the professorship. Following upon this, the bishop, as was every way most fit, delivered the first annual course of lectures about the Bible, on what is called the Wyclif Foundation, the lectures being now re-

delivered to the whole English-speaking world through the volume before us. It is not strange that the same eagerness for the word of God which caused three million copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament to be called for in a few days after its issue reaches after such books as this, in which the transcendent and exhaustless greatness of the word is set forth with masterful ability and in fascinating style. We understand that a large anticipatory demand welcomed Bishop Warren's volume, and promises to call for many editions. The book itself is an illustration and an effect of the power of the Holy Scriptures, when studied, loved, and lived upon, to uplift, enlarge, and enable the human mind, bringing all faculties to their harmonious best, and, by divine reduplications and intensifications, raising manhood to its highest power. The author enters upon his work with joy superb, rejoicing as a strong man to run a race, and, passing the last milestone of his course of thought, comes to the goal aglow with triumph and buoyant as ever, with that sustained and rational optimism which Christianity alone makes possible to sane, intelligent, and cultivated minds. He is a mountain climber who reaches and looks off from the highest peaks of thought to the widest horizons of human vision, and sees on the one hand all truth and fact, and on the other all falsehood and unreality, by the effulgent shining of the Sun of righteousness, the Light of the world. In this volume there is the ease of power; the reader is aware of the push and stroke which go with the determined earnestness of a sturdy nature, and hears the resonant voice of a robust spiritual life. In all the eleven chapters there is not one word of cant or antiquated expression. The eternal truth is freshly phrased in most unhackneyed presentation. The hostile critics of the Bible are tossed into the air as lightly as a juggler plays with his balls. This glowing book, by the one bishop of our Church known to be most at home with the physical sciences, and in many of them a lifelong student and enthusiastic teacher, is enough to refute the frequently declared notion that science and poetry are naturally and necessarily inimical. The alleged decadence of poetry in our land and time, if it be a fact, must be accounted for on some other theory. On every page lies the proof that the scientific and the poetic spirit can coexist in high perfection in the same mind, and can also cooperate in the study and exposition of the message of divine revelation. We are reminded of Emerson's remark that "the vine which bears the most intoxicating fruit is the most mathematical of plants." For all the expectations of faith and for all the joy of the Lord cherished in human souls there is a scientific basis of indestructible solidity. The lily-work of Scripture and of Bishop Warren's lectures is carved upon the capitals of strong pillars of stone and brass. This glad book is able to communicate its reasoned confidence to those who may have been depressed and darkened by the clamor and confusion of many tongues in the loud debate in which scholarship and ignorance, bitter foes and earnest friends, some wise and some foolish, have engaged about the Bible. We prescribe it as a tonic for the ague of anxiety and the fever of fear. Its force is not in form, but in

life; it does not frame set syllogisms, but darts convictions through and through the whole moral and intellectual nature. It is lit with that faith which makes existence, to him who has it, an eternal morning, and its strong reasoning is saturated with the spirit out of which songs and shoutings are made. The roll of doxologies is heard above all the paths where science walks or human thought proceeds. Twenty years ago Dr. Whedon, commenting on a book of travel-letters entitled *Sights and Insights*, wrote, "Dr. Warren is a masterly elephant hunter." The volume of which we now write shows how God's written word can make a man at home and at ease in the loftiest altitudes and farthest ranges of reality, familiar with the greatest themes as a keeper who strokes his lions and calls them all by name.

The Gospel of Paul. By DR. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, Professor of Theology in Harvard University and Dean of the Harvard Divinity School. 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This book offers a new interpretation of Paul's doctrine of the atonement, which, the author claims, is based wholly upon an examination of the words of Paul, taken in their most natural and direct signification. The notion that Christ in his death bore vicariously the penalty of the world's sin is rejected as having no foundation in the teachings of Paul, but resting chiefly upon erroneous views of ancient sacrifice. The substitutionary view is declared to be irreconcilable with the apostle's language. Professor Everett does not accept the Socinian and other rationalistic interpretations of the writings of Paul, the results of which he considers to be "unhappily, for the most part, very vague, and neither very Pauline nor very rational;" but he believes that Christendom will ultimately be compelled by an unprejudiced study of Paul's epistles to adopt the view presented in the pages of his book, although he anticipates that the traditional theory of vicariously punitive sacrifice will be slow to retire. The author says that by this new interpretation the doctrine of salvation through Christ does not suffer; the cross of Christ still remains the instrument by which Christianity gains possession of the world, the symbol of victory through shame, and the source of spiritual life to the world; the crucifixion is of undiminished interest, because by that particular form of death Christ won the victory which brought his Gospel to the Gentile world, presaging final and complete victory over all the powers of evil. The author's conception of the personality of the apostle whose writings he interprets is that Paul was a man of fiery emotions which were wholly under the guidance of his intellect. "Perhaps there was never a man of so passionate a nature who was so absolutely controlled by his reason; and perhaps there was never another instance of so complete a change as Paul underwent" in his conversion from Judaism to Christianity. His life was henceforth based, not upon the authority of the law, but upon "the impulses of a heart transformed by the influence of Jesus and of the Holy Ghost." Dr. Everett expresses his estimate of our indebtedness to Paul by saying that it was he who gave Christianity to the

world, and that but for him it would have remained only a Jewish sect, if indeed it had not entirely perished from the earth. Through the medium of Paul's preaching and writing the teachings of Jesus ceased to be provincial and became universal. It is claimed by the author that, in the light of his new interpretation of Paul, the Sermon on the Mount, the parable of the prodigal son, the Lord's Prayer, and many of Christ's other teachings have an intelligibility and beauty such as they cannot have under the old traditional doctrine which made the divine forgiveness impossible without an infinite sacrifice for sin. How far this interesting book is true is capable of long debate. It is, as it purports, a sincere, as well as scholarly, attempt at biblical theology approached from the Unitarian standpoint. Its author honestly endeavors to follow that method of interpretation which primarily and habitually asks, not what we should expect, but what the writer actually says. Yet the exegete or theologian who is able to interpret the Bible without the slightest bias from preconceptions is, in any school or church, what the Latins called a rare bird. The volume before us illustrates the rarity of absolutely judicial poise. The author affirms in his conclusion that, to Paul, Christ was never God: "Paul did not exalt Christ to the deity," although "he did invest him with a superhuman and preexistent glory by which he stood beneath God alone." The opinion most emphasized in the latter part of the volume is that, by the dialectic of Paul, the teaching of Jesus was given, without substantial change, a world-wide influence, being so set free from local forms of thought as to appeal to the universal consciousness of man.

Gloria Patri; or, Our Talks About the Trinity. By JAMES MORRIS WHITON, Ph.D. 16mo, pp. 162. New York: Thomas Whittaker. Price, \$1.

This book is worthy of attention, not because of its elucidation of the doctrine of the Trinity, but because of its departure from the well-understood faith of Christendom on that and other important doctrines. Using the terms of the Nicene Creed and giving them a meaning entirely foreign to the thought of its framers, as though words were made only to juggle with, the author evolves a doctrine which is anything but that of the Trinity and which the body of his Congregational brethren will not recognize, however much a small faction may be in accord with him. The Trinity of the Creed is internal to the divine nature; Dr. Whiton's is external, consisting in manifestations and activities, and is properly a duality rather than a trinity. Assuming the identity in substance of all spiritual nature, divine, angelic, and human, he finds no difficulty with the *homousios* of the Nicene fathers, for "the race is spiritually of one substance with the Father." He plumply denies the existence of two natures in Christ; and, indeed, if the human soul were of the same essence with God, man would be self-existent, of the same power and eternity with God, and would be God. The incarnation, he holds, was not the union of the divine and human in Jesus, nor was it peculiar to him; for, confounding incarnation with spiritual indwelling, he claims that there have been many incarnations of God in men, though only in Christ was it perfect as it has been in no other. It

clearly follows, as Dr. Lyman Abbott puts it, that the divinity of Christ differs from that of Paul "in respect to the endowment and development of being, not in respect to its essential basis or substratum." Christ is Son of God, as all men are, but he is *the* Son preeminently because in him the moral nature of God fully dwelt. That the Logos became *flesh* perplexes Dr. Whiton; but he insists on God *in* man instead of God *and* man. According to him the Holy Spirit is not a distinct person, but simply an expression of God. Nor does the emphasis which he puts upon the divine immanence save his cause, for, though his school seems to think it peculiarly expressive, it is the common doctrine of orthodoxy. Dr. Whiton rejects the idea of a revelation coming directly from God. Revelation, he teaches, comes not from above, but is developed within the human soul by inward intuition of divine truth, evolutionary and progressive. This confessedly allows many crudities in the Scriptures and must be very full of comfort to advocates of their errancy. The atonement, he tells us, is a reparation to "the divine Spirit in the sinner's breast," and so is "not a governmental work outside of us, but an educational work within us." On the question of *post-mortem* probation he teaches that God dwells in the sinner's conscience, and redemption is possible at any point of the vast future before conscience becomes extinct. These views, Dr. Whiton thinks, logically follow from what he terms the broader conceptions of the Trinity which he with his friends, Drs. Hedge and Martineau, accept. They promise light, but they give only darkness.

Manual of Natural Theology. By GEORGE PARK FISHER, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 94. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

This little book is uniform with and a companion to the author's *Manual of Christian Evidences*, published five years ago, and adds itself to a list of ten important volumes previously furnished by the same distinguished scholar. It is doubtful if the work herein attempted could conceivably have been better done. To condense a great subject into brief statement without essential omission or serious disproportion is difficult and requires more skill and power than does amplification. In this book the great doctrines treated do not lose clearness, coherency, or symmetry by reduction into a compass of less than one hundred pages. Compact, it is yet in its measure complete, and admirably fitted to be a clear and intelligible introduction to the study of natural theology from which the student can proceed through a lifetime to all the expansions and particulars involved in the range of so vast a subject. The seven chapters contain the following themes: "The Nature and Origin of Religion;" "The Cosmological Argument for the Being of God;" "The Argument of Design;" "The Moral Argument;" "The Intuition of the Infinite and Absolute;" "Antitheistic Theories;" "The Future Life of the Soul;" the volume ending with a brief note on "The Ontological Argument." Materialism, pantheism, positivism, and agnosticism are antitheistic. Immortality is confirmed to the reason by the soul's capacity for progress, by the incompleteness of God's moral government here, by the evident or

probable probationary character of life, and by man's capacity for fellowship with God. The largest space is given to the "Argument of Design," which is presented in full view of modern scientific doctrines and in a form adjusted in harmony therewith, clearly showing that evolutionary teachings, as given by naturalists of highest repute, serve to fortify rather than weaken the argument of design, making the universe appear at once more wonderful in itself and more certainly divine in its origin. In this, as in the author's larger volumes, there is that fine and easy handling of the materials of argument which denotes the master, and also such ability in the presentation and defense of religious truth as is possible only to exact and comprehensive learning abreast of to-day and ready for to-morrow.

Suggestions for the Study of the English New Testament. By CHARLES HORSWELL, Ph.D. Small 8vo, pp. 24. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

In his introductory words Dr. Horswell well intimates that New Testament exegesis is not free from difficulties. To the fact that the language, age, and surroundings of its authors differed from our own must be added the further embarrassment that the nineteen centuries of Christian history have given rise to a "mass of literature, whose colossal magnitude daily increases." For the relief of the student who is conscious of these difficulties our author has laid down certain elementary rules in the pursuit of English New Testament study which are scholarly and pertinent. Under the caption of "Method in General" he mentions among other things its importance; under "Method in Detail," he shows the value of the analytic, comparative, and constructive processes; while under "Method Illustrated" he furnishes two elaborate charts of grammatical analysis, with their explanation, which should inspire the student to similar efforts with other portions of the Scripture. The author's enumeration of various volumes which may help in the study of New Testament words, books, topics, and history is not least valuable among his excellent directions. For its clear analysis, its practical character, and its thorough grasp of the situation the pamphlet is to be commended. Our bishops have well directed its use as a book of reference in connection with the Course of Study followed by our itinerant preachers.

Moses, the Servant of God. By F. B. MEYER, B.A., Author of *Abraham; or, The Obedience of Faith*, etc. 12mo, pp. 190. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, cloth, \$1.

The humanity of the great leaders of the Scripture must ever be borne in mind in the study of their lives. They were not superhuman. Tribulations, diseases, and death were their heritage in common with ordinary men. Limitations in intellectual force, in judgment, and in practical application were features in all their lives. Even Moses, who walks in the van of the Old Testament heroes, was no exception to this rule. Nor does Mr. Meyer attempt to portray him as aught else than a fallible and erring mortal. Of his purpose the author is himself the best interpreter,

and of this he declares: "I have tried, therefore, to show that Moses was a man like other men; with great qualities that needed to be developed and improved; with flaws that veined the pure marble of his character; with deficiencies that had rendered him powerless but for the all-sufficient grace that he learned to appropriate; and that he wrought his life work by the simplicity of his faith, by communion with God, and by becoming a channel through which the divine purpose was achieved." Yet while this biographical study of Mr. Meyer is the study of a man, rather than a demigod, it shows us the humanity of Moses in a new and sometimes vivid setting. Just as each artist finds in a familiar landscape some characteristic that has escaped the observation of others, so the Moses which the present author delineates has his peculiar features of attraction. It follows, without the particular saying, that the entire life record of Moses, from his infancy in Egypt to his death on Pisgah—including not only his years of seclusion, but also his long official service—falls within the scope of this volume. So that we have at once a biographic story which is complete and clear in its delineation of Moses's relation to the forward movement of Jewish history. As one in the series on "Old Testament Heroes" the book has its worthy place.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

Christ Enthroned in the Industrial World. A Discussion of Christianity in Property and Labor. By CHARLES ROADS. 12mo, pp. 287. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$1.

It would be well if every capitalist, every employer of labor, and every employee could read this book. It will not please the anarchist or socialist—it was not written for such; but they who believe that Christianity should regulate all human relations and control all human affairs will find in it much to help them to a correct understanding of the grave questions concerning property and labor which the activities of the present age have forced upon us. On first thought, as one looks at the greed, the fierce competitions, the adulterated goods, the business lies, and the endless tricks of trade—at the struggle of bulls and bears, and the conflicts between labor and capital, the laborer and the employer, with the manifest and even avowed claim of the former to a right in the property of the latter—it would seem that we are in a world without Christ and a world which very much needs him. Yet a wider view shows us that Christian principles do very largely prevail in the affairs of this world, and the problem is to bring about their universal rule. Our philosophers abound in substitutes for them, but no law of evolution or of human progress that leaves Christ out of the account will establish the reign of righteousness. Mr. Roads's view is that the law of Christian love is the only remedy for existing evils, and its application the only perfect solution of the problems of the time. It is simply the law of strict justice and right, the law of the golden rule. The universal reign of truth and

righteousness in all the relations and business of men is predicted in the Scriptures, and it will be realized in the establishment of the kingdom of God on the earth. This may seem very far away, but its actual remoteness or nearness turns on the fidelity of Christians in applying to practice the principles of their religion. What its requisitions are, first, upon the Christian workman, and, secondly, upon the Christian employer, is presented at some length in a series of chapters worth perusal and study as well. The ideal is a high one, but there are difficulties in the way, chief of which is the unregenerate, selfish human heart; and this only shows us that before one can enter the kingdom of heaven he must be born again. We are not under the necessity of indorsing all of the reasonings and conclusions of our author upon such points as the law of demand and supply, the supposed partnership of employer and employee, profit sharing, and loaning of money. On these and other questions there is ample room for differences of opinion; but the main principles and discussions of the book cannot fail to commend themselves to the Christian thinker.

Persian Literature, Ancient and Modern. By ELIZABETH A. REED, Member of the Philosophical Society of Great Britain, Member of the International Congress of Orientalists, Author of *Hindoo Literature*, etc. 12mo, pp. 419. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.50.

The reader is reminded by this book of the great difficulties which lie in the way of a mastery of the ancient literatures. Not only do the abstruse alphabetical forms and the peculiarities of grammatical construction incident to the oriental tongues serve as hindrances to this result, but much more the archaisms in sentiment and national history which are involved. Thus it is that the ordinary reader is not won by such a facsimile of a portion of the oldest Zend manuscript as is inserted in the volume, and that only an ardent orientalist would undertake its translation and its mastery. And yet the exceeding importance of the ancient literatures as links in the great chain of human history calls for their patient and accurate investigation. So does the past instruct the present; and so do the nations of the world, though widely separated in place and time, grow rich in one another's experiences and counsels. From such a realization of the value of the oriental literatures it is obvious that the records of Persia cannot be omitted. Abundant in its traditions, and ample in its records of national prestige, it has much whereof to instruct the world. This fact seems to have given zest to our author in carefully prepared work. Sweeping over the whole field of Persian literature, "from its early mythology to the time when the rule of priestcraft, combined with political tyranny, seems to have quenched the fire of Persian genius," she has recorded much that the archæologist and philologist will be glad to possess. We may not find it possible to linger in detail over the succeeding chapters of her scholarly work. But under the successive divisions of the "Early Tablets and Mythology," "Period of the Zend-Avesta," and "The Time of the Mohammedan Conquest and the Koran," so much is included that the book seems elaborate and even encyclopedic to the casual reader. That the author has seen fit to consult

and quote from such distinguished orientalist as Professor Sayce, Max Müller, and many others, lends to the volume in a sense the sanction of great names. Scholarship has become her debtor. We are persuaded that very much which relates to the Persian literature is here recorded in compact and attractive form.

Greek Poets in English Verse. By Various Translators. Edited with Introduction and Notes. by WILLIAM HYDE APPLETON, Professor of Greek in Swarthmore College. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Emerson habitually used, by preference, good English translations of works in other languages for the same reason, as he said, that in going to Boston he availed himself of the bridge instead of swimming the Charles River. This volume is not of value to those alone who are unfamiliar with Greek, although to them it renders its greatest service. The skill of the noblest art and finest genius to be found among English poets is seen in these translations. The old Greek wine of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Theocritus, and forty others, has been decanted into vessels of modern form and made by the hands of Chapman, Pope, Leigh Hunt, Cowper, Shelley, Byron, Milman, the Brownings, Tennyson, Bryant, Edwin Arnold, and as many more. The wondrous and enormous wealth of Greek poetry is herein sampled by its best. The translations in this volume are all in poetic form, although the editor is of opinion that Homer, certainly, if not others also, is most closely approached and satisfactorily known by the nonclassical reader through the medium of prose versions like those of the "Odyssey" by Messrs. Butcher and Lang, in England, and Professor G. H. Palmer, in America. Professor Appleton's book is intended to give the ordinary English reader a comprehensive view of Greek poetry, the grandeur of the rough-hewn dramas of Æschylus, the perfect finish and tender grace of Sophocles, the extravagant "fun, frolic, and absurdity" of Aristophanes, and the human quality of "sad Electra's poet," Euripides, who, as the author hints, might almost be called the Greek Shakespeare, whom Mrs. Browning characterizes in the well-known lines:

Our Euripides the human
With his droppings of warm tears,
And his touches of things common
Till they rose to touch the spheres.

The amazing richness and undying splendor of Greek poetry, as well as all "the glory which was Greece" are fairly and finely suggested to the mind by a single sentence of the author's introduction to his book. After giving the bare outline of the "Iliad," and saying that this mere story is not Homer any more than canvas, brush, or paint is the picture, he shows us Homer in the following words: "Apollo descending to earth in the blackness of his wrath; the bright-eyed goddess staying the half-drawn sword of Achilles in the council of the kings; sweet-voiced Nestor pouring forth the story of his youthful prowess; Chryses praying to the

archer-god; Olympus trembling with the nod of Zeus; Ulysses staying the runaway Greeks in their race to the ships; the assembled host, reverent before the priest, offering their perfect hecatombs to the immortals; Helen on the walls of Troy entrancing the elders of the city with her divine beauty; Agamemnon sorrowing over the wounded Menelaus; the Greeks with measured tread and silent as one man, marching into battle; Athena arming herself in her fringed ægis whereon sat plumed Terror, Strife, Valor, and the dire Gorgon head; Hector laying off his helmet with its nodding crest to caress his frightened child; the thunderbolt falling before the terrified horses of Diomed; Achilles sitting in the door of his tent delighting his soul with the harp and song, and starting up to receive the envoys of Agamemnon; Hector with the Trojans boarding the ships of the Greeks; Sleep and Death bearing the dead Sarpedon to his native Lycia; the fight over the body of Patroclus; the Trojan host panic-stricken at the shout of Achilles from the trench; Achilles warned by his horse Xanthus; the descent of the gods to battle; Achilles's fearful struggle with the river; the death of Hector; Priam kissing the hand that had slain his son—these are Homer." Professor Appleton advocates the use of English translations in high schools, seminaries, and colleges for giving nonclassical scholars courses of study in the Greek and Latin literature.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

France Under the Regency. With a Review of the Administration of Louis XIV. By JAMES BRECK PERKINS. Author of *France Under Richelieu and Mazarin*. 12mo, pp. xvii, 603. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$2.

The history of France in the eighteenth century so naturally divides itself into epochs that Mr. Perkins prefers a separate treatment of its several periods, intending to discuss each by itself. A previous volume treated of the times of Richelieu and Mazarin. But in selecting the regency of the Duke of Orleans during the eight years' minority of Louis XV as the subject of the present volume, to ascertain the causes of the French Revolution the author finds it necessary to review the administration of Louis XIV, in order to understand the system of government which he perfected and the condition of the country at the expiration of his reign of seventy years. At the death of Mazarin, France was the most powerful State in Europe. Prosperity, both internal and external, marked the first years of the new king's rule. A halo, though much tarnished, still surrounds his age because of its wealth, its architecture, its industry and commerce, and its institutions of learning and art. But it was unfortunate that the king's vanity led him to believe the great things accomplished by his minister to have been really his own work, for his resolution on the cardinal's death to be thenceforth his own minister involved him in many calamities and brought many troubles upon the kingdom. His ambition carried him into useless and expensive wars; his extravagance piled up millions of debt; his superstitious bigotry led to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the

persecution of the Huguenots, the dragonnades, and the flight from France of large numbers of her best people. His war upon the feudal privileges of the nobles only tended to the absoluteness of the monarchy, though to this there was no objection on the part of the people. The time had not come when they supposed themselves to possess any rights other than those which the king was pleased to allow. Even the Parliament had meekly come to be simply a registrar of the royal decrees. Louis died without regret, and his obsequies received little respect or attention. By the will of Louis XIV the regency was committed to a council with the Duke of Orleans at the head, but by promises to the Parliament of the restoration of its former powers, which he soon tried to elude, the duke was speedily declared sole regent of the kingdom. In some respects his administration was worthy of praise. He opened the prisons to a large number of persons held in confinement under *lettres de cachet*, most of whom were guilty of the crime of erroneous views on the questions in debate between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, such as the infallibility of the pope and the merits of the bull *Unigenitus*. He thought it better to try to convert Protestants by reason rather than by the methods employed under Louis. The French could criticise their rulers and complain of taxation, but the administration of affairs was the business of government, and they troubled themselves very little about them. The great difficulty of the regent related to finance. His industrial and financial experiments only made matters worse. The reader will find the two chapters narrating the story of the Mississippi Company inaugurated by John Law very interesting history, and instructive as well, in view of some of the financial theories advocated in our own day and country. But intellectual changes had begun. If superstition established the worship of the Sacred Heart, persecution had made more converts to infidelity than to Rome. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Montesquieu began to be heard. While the proceedings and absoluteness of the government did not materially change, the intelligence of the people increased and their condition improved. The Revolution was not the result of greater oppression, increased taxation, or deeper wretchedness, but of the better condition of the people and their discovery that they had rights. Mr. Perkins is a brilliant writer, and his pages show most careful and thorough research, causing, perhaps, in some cases, the reversal of judgments hitherto accepted.

History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850. By JAMES FORD RHODES. Vol. I, 1850-1854. 8vo, pp. x, 506. Vol. II, 1854-1860. 8vo, ix, 541. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, \$5.

The purpose of Mr. Rhodes is to narrate the history of the United States from the introduction into Congress of the Compromise Measures of 1850 to the inauguration of Grover Cleveland as President in 1885, covering a period of thirty-five years. He rightly thinks the period as interesting as that of the great Peloponnesian war for the Greek, or the struggle between the Cavalier and the Puritan for the English. In this period the long contest over slavery was settled and the great questions

resulting from the war of the rebellion were disposed of, so far as they could be, by the action of Congress and the President. Benton, Greeley, Wilson, and others, who were actors in the scenes of these important years, have given us invaluable works, but the time is come for an impartial statement of the causes and events of the great struggle. The two volumes before us, extending to the election of Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, are prepared with the utmost care and candor, and we have no doubt that the future volumes will exhibit the same true historic spirit. The Compromise Measures of 1850 were a compromise with slavery, and slavery was the cause of the rebellion. To understand them, one must know the history of the country as it relates to that institution. Mr. Rhodes's opening chapter therefore sets forth the introduction of slavery into the country in the landing of a few Negroes in Virginia, and traces its progress through the early conflict between moral feeling and the love of gain until it claimed to be a righteous and beneficent institution and demanded admission into territory previously consecrated to freedom. In the early days of the republic it was generally recognized as an evil which could not long continue. The Churches bore their testimony against it. The ordinance of 1787 prohibited it forever in the Northwest Territory. The word "slave" was not allowed in the Constitution. The general conviction was that the term would soon become extinct. Virginia and Maryland promised to soon become free. But the invention of the cotton gin, by which one man could do in a day the work of fifty, and the purchase of Louisiana in 1803, opening a new market for slave labor, quickly created a change in popular sentiment at the South. The demand arose for a wider area. The first great struggle between the North and the South was over the admission of Missouri as a slave State. It was objected to because it extended the area of slavery. The Missouri Compromise, admitting the State and prohibiting slavery in the Territories north of 36° 30', was a Southern measure. It was then the received opinion that Congress had power to prohibit slavery in the Territories, Northern sentiment, while conceding the existence of slavery in the States, was strong against its extension. This sentiment grew in proportion with the manifest purpose of the South to extend it. Mr. Rhodes is certainly mistaken in ascribing to Mr. Garrison the growth of opposition to slavery extension, and also in classing the great body of antislavery men as "Abolitionists." The annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico were in the interest of slavery extension. It demanded California and New Mexico, and threatened secession if the demand was not granted. The Compromise of 1850 admitted free California but enacted the Fugitive Slave Law, the inhuman provisions of which profoundly stirred the Northern conscience and humiliated every Northern free man. Other subjects enter into the history of the period, as the theory of the right of a State to secede from the Union, the nullification troubles, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the Black Warrior affair, the Ostend Manifesto, the efforts to obtain Cuba for an additional slave State, the Nebraska Bill, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in the interest of the

South, violating a solemn compact until then deemed irrevocable, the Dred Scott decision, and the Kansas-Nebraska struggle. It was inevitable that the encroachments of the slave power should be met with intense opposition. Meanwhile other changes were occurring in the South. The reopening of the African slave trade was demanded. The power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the Territories was denied. The carrying of slaves there, as any other property, was claimed as a right, and it was asserted that it was the duty of the government to protect their owners in holding them. This was an entirely new theory. Disunion was threatened in the event of the constitutional election of a Republican to the presidency. Slavery must rule or ruin. The old doctrine was that freedom is national and slavery sectional. But such had been the aggressions of slavery that only one step more was needed to make slavery national and freedom sectional. Over the question the Whig party was destroyed. The Republican Party was formed upon the platform promising no further extension of slavery, and in 1860, as Mr. Rhodes describes, carried the country. This was inevitable unless the free North was ready to bow down to a slaveholding oligarchy and allow it to dominate the nation. This it would not do, and resolved on maintaining its self-respect, whatever might be the consequence. We have not space to say more, and will only commend the book as one that merits a place in every historical library.

Theodor Christlieb, D.D., of Bonn. Memoir by His Widow, and Sermons Translated chiefly by T. L. KINGSBURY, M.A., Canon Non-Residentiary of Salisbury, Vicar of Coombe-Bisset with Homington, and SAMUEL GARRATT, M.A., Hon. Canon of Norwich Cathedral, Vicar of St. Margaret's, Ipswich. 12mo, pp. 452. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Price, cloth, \$2.

Measured by many of the standards of judgment by which we are accustomed to estimate men, Theodor Christlieb was no ordinary character. Great in his natural endowment, and disciplined in the rigorous training of university life, he was also great in his influence upon the current German religious thought and upon the lives of many who were permitted to sit under his professional instruction. The present memoir of this good man has a double charm. First the story of his life is told by her who knew him best and, in its felicitous description of the honored service of a German pastor and teacher, affords a picture that is in truth attractive. The second part of the volume gives us some of the translated sermonic work of Christlieb himself; and, next to the actual hearing of this forceful pulpit orator, is the privilege of reading these practical and soul-moving discourses. The impression conveyed by the volume cannot but be that a great leader in the ranks of evangelical German Christianity has fallen. The following commendation of one of his eulogists is not an overstatement: "By the death of Professor Christlieb the University of Bonn has lost one of its ablest professors, the Protestant Church of Germany one of its foremost preachers, the cause of Christian truth one of its most scholarly defenders, and Christian missions throughout the world one of their most zealous and enthusiastic advocates."

And while such words of human praise, however deserved, are naught to him who has passed on to the great reward, if his printed memoir shall be an inspiration to those who yet remain in the field of toil it will not have been issued in vain. All lovers of Christian biography will be benefited in its perusal.

Morocco As It Is. With an Account of Sir Charles Euan-Smith's Recent Visit to Fez. Illustrated. By STEPHEN BONSAI, JR. 12mo, pp. 349. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$2.

A glimpse at human life in the obscure corners of the globe, such as is herein afforded, neither lacks in interest nor in benefit. The fund of information on matters of ethnology, philology, social customs, and religion is thereby greatly increased; while the interdependence of all national life and the ethical relations which inhere between the governments of the world assume a new and vivid proportion. It was on an unusual occasion that Mr. Bonsai made his first visit to Fez, as described in the present volume—this occasion being none other than the expedition of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, K.C.B., to this capital city of Morocco as a messenger from the English court. The latter came to the sultan on the delicate diplomatic mission of proposing the improvement of the commercial relations between Great Britain and Morocco. That the errand of the English messenger was received with the suspicion of a covert aim at aggrandizement on the part of his home government, and that he was forced to depart from Morocco without success, do not detract from the interest of Mr. Bonsai's description. So intelligent is his narrative as a traveler that the reader is necessarily edified therein. In Morocco he discovers a land of such fertility as to hold the possibility of being "the granary of Europe," yet one so trammelled by oriental superstitions, so restricted by jealousy toward the European powers, and so burdened by the cruelties of a heathen civilization, that decadence has already set in and absorption by some of the dominant nations of Europe must follow. Of Mr. Bonsai's second visit to Fez it is not necessary to speak in detail; yet one who wishes to read of the unusual, the romantic, and the hazardous will find them in these present extracts from a tourist's experience.

Annals of New York Methodism. Being a History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the City of New York from A. D. 1866 to A. D. 1896. By SAMUEL A. SEAMAN, A.M. 12mo, pp. 505. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

It would seem that this particular field in the history of our Church has already been so thoroughly gleaned that no aftermath of value might be gathered. While too little is known of many of the events in the development of metropolitan Methodism, or of the personality of those who participated therein, yet the conviction is now perhaps general that little more may be added to supplement the paucity of our denominational records. Because the growth of New York Methodism is, however, pivotal Mr. Seaman has done well to undertake its review. Certain facts have, moreover, contributed to his success in the pursuit—as, for instance,

a lifelong association with the Methodism of New York, the help of personal recollections, access to traditions and documentary records, and that well-earned leisure for the pursuit of his antiquarian researches which follows an honorable career in the itinerant ministry. To tell the story of all that he has here recorded is to write the details relating to the growth, membership, pastoral record, financial and spiritual prosperity of the many churches of New York Methodism, since each has a definite, if necessarily abbreviated, place in the chronological consideration. Having made use of such early documents as the "Old Book," with various other records and church registers, and having resorted also to all printed histories and biographies available, Mr. Seaman has evidently embodied in his volume all that an investigator may "gather relating to the history of Methodism in New York city." Only the earlier Methodists, who belonged to the times of which he writes, might challenge the truthfulness of his records. As we cannot criticise the book from this standpoint we are led to pay tribute to the diligence with which the author has culled from tradition and scattered documents the story of earlier Methodism in the New World metropolis.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A Fellowship of Hearts. By MARY FENTON BIGELOW. 12mo, pp. 348. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, \$1.

The thoughtful love and the unselfish, helpful spirit in Miss Waring's beautiful hymn, from which the title of this book is taken, are happily illustrated in this charming story. Its purpose is to show how people of widely different lines of thought and life, but with kindly dispositions, may help and bless one another. Thus the weary invalid on her couch of suffering, in her farewells to the son and daughter of her removing pastor, incites them to a pure and lofty life. The dwellers in two parsonages become intimate friends; the ministers, brothers and fellow-workers; and their children, bright, joyous, and good, not only help one another, but unite in works of beneficence and cheer. Gradually the circle enlarges, not repelling the uncongenial but eagerly welcoming the earnest soul, whether rich or poor, well instructed or ignorant, that desires a better manhood or womanhood. Out of such fellowship of hearts come, as might be expected, some grand results in the building of character and also in the work of subsequent life. The book is well written, and the narrative so easy and pleasant that the reader never wearies. It was prepared for our young people, and to them we heartily commend it.

Life and Labors of Elijah H. Pilcher, of Michigan, Fifty-nine Years a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by his son, JAMES E. PILCHER, M.D. 12mo, pp. 142. New York: Hunt & Eaton.

To the ever-increasing list of her glorified heroes Methodism can add few names more worthy than that of Elijah H. Pilcher. He was well born, so far as Revolutionary ancestry goes; he was well disciplined to industry and hardihood by his youthful experiences upon the Western frontier;

he was well trained for his conspicuous ministerial service by two years of collegiate instruction in the Ohio University before his long itinerant ministry began. The story of his life is another of the romances in Methodist biography. His sterling qualities, which shone forth in times of test, his successes in the establishment of our Church in Michigan, his unusual zeal for scholarship, his well-won honors, and his sunny old age are successive features in this record which win the attention of the reader. One cannot follow the biography without feeling new impulses to nobility. The writer has done well in giving to the Church at large this tribute to so useful and honored a father.

Pulpit Bible Reading. A Study in Vocal Exegesis; or, The Art of Sacred Reading. By the Rev. JAMES T. DOCKINGS, S.T.B., with Introductory Chapters by C. WESLEY EMERSON, M.D., LL.D., President of the Emerson College of Oratory, Boston, and Professor J. W. CHURCHILL, A.M., of the Andover Theological Seminary. Reading, Pa.: Frank J. Boyer. Paper.

In this little pamphlet of sixty pages the author has presented some very valuable suggestions in a hitherto almost neglected field—the art of correctly reading the sacred Scriptures. His conclusion indicates the lines of thought which he has pursued: "Intelligent reading plus sympathetic reading equals effective reading. . . . There should be life to inspire, force to impress, warmth to inflame, and grace to attract. There should be a living sense of the divine presence, an unlimited benevolence, a vivid imagination, great responsiveness, great simplicity of manner and character, purity of soul, a sense . . . of the value of the human soul, and that the Bible is the word of God to that soul." It were well if the pamphlet could be read and reread by every minister.

Along New England Roads. By W. C. PRIME, LL.D., Author of *I Go A-Fishing*, etc., 16mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.

Various papers contributed to a New York daily newspaper by their well-known author are here gathered into book form. New Hampshire and Vermont are the particular scenes of his description. It is enough to say that the many sketches are written in Dr. Prime's most sparkling and instructive vein. All who love New England as the spot of their nativity will particularly treasure these glimpses at the familiar scenes, and in the awakened memories will find a tender pleasure.

The Picturesque Ohio. A Historical Monograph. Columbian Edition. By C. M. CLARK. 8vo, pp. 238. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

Many of the romantic or tragical incidents accompanying the settlement of the territory bordering on the Ohio have been grouped by Mr. Clark in the present monograph. The personality and work of Robert René Cavalier, the discoverer of the Ohio; the contest of the French and English for the possession of this section; and the establishment of the early settlements, with some of the blood-curdling stories of Indian assault, are included in the author's treatment. In this Columbian year of retrospect the book is timely and should "stimulate Christian patriotism."

